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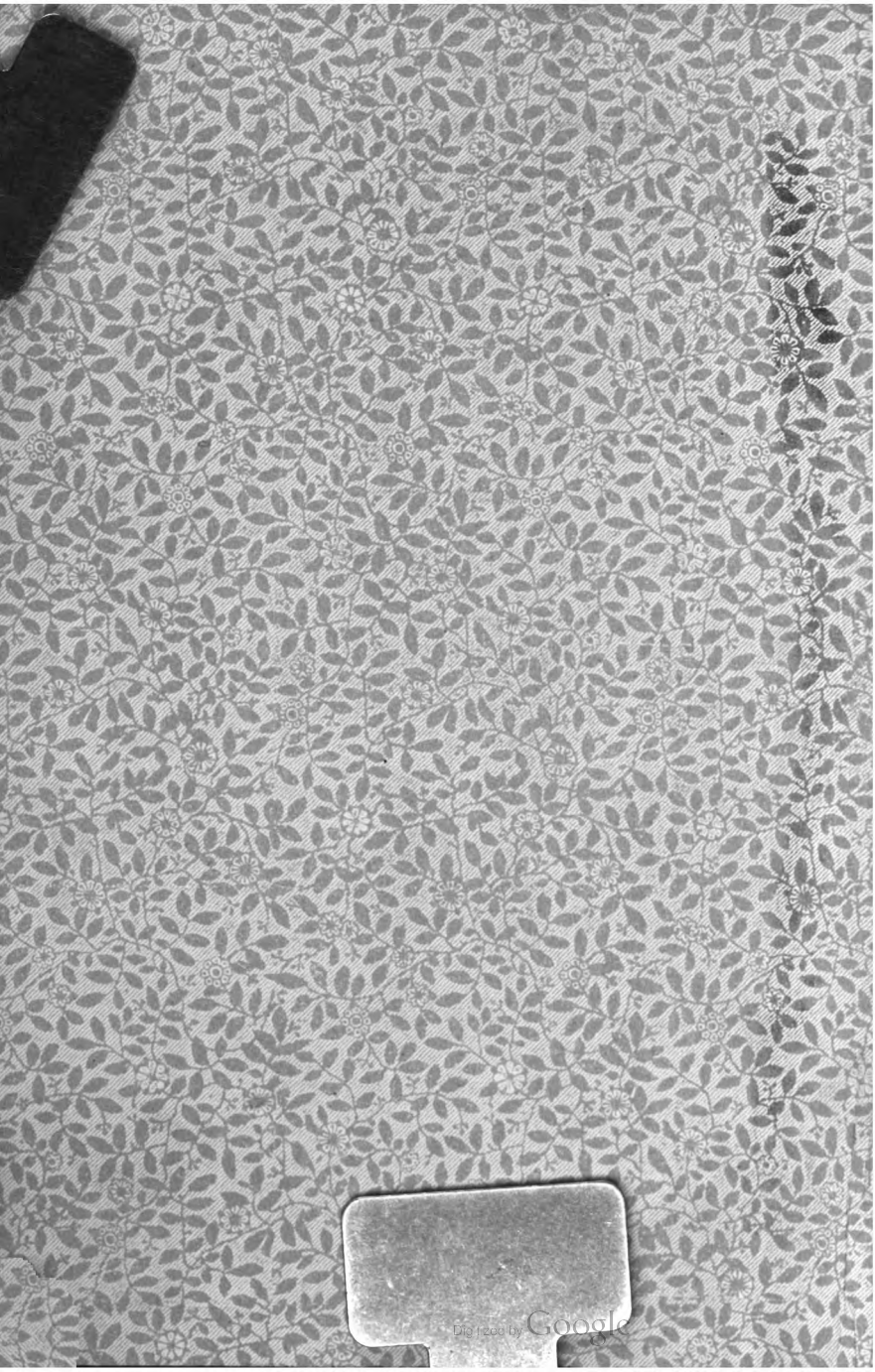
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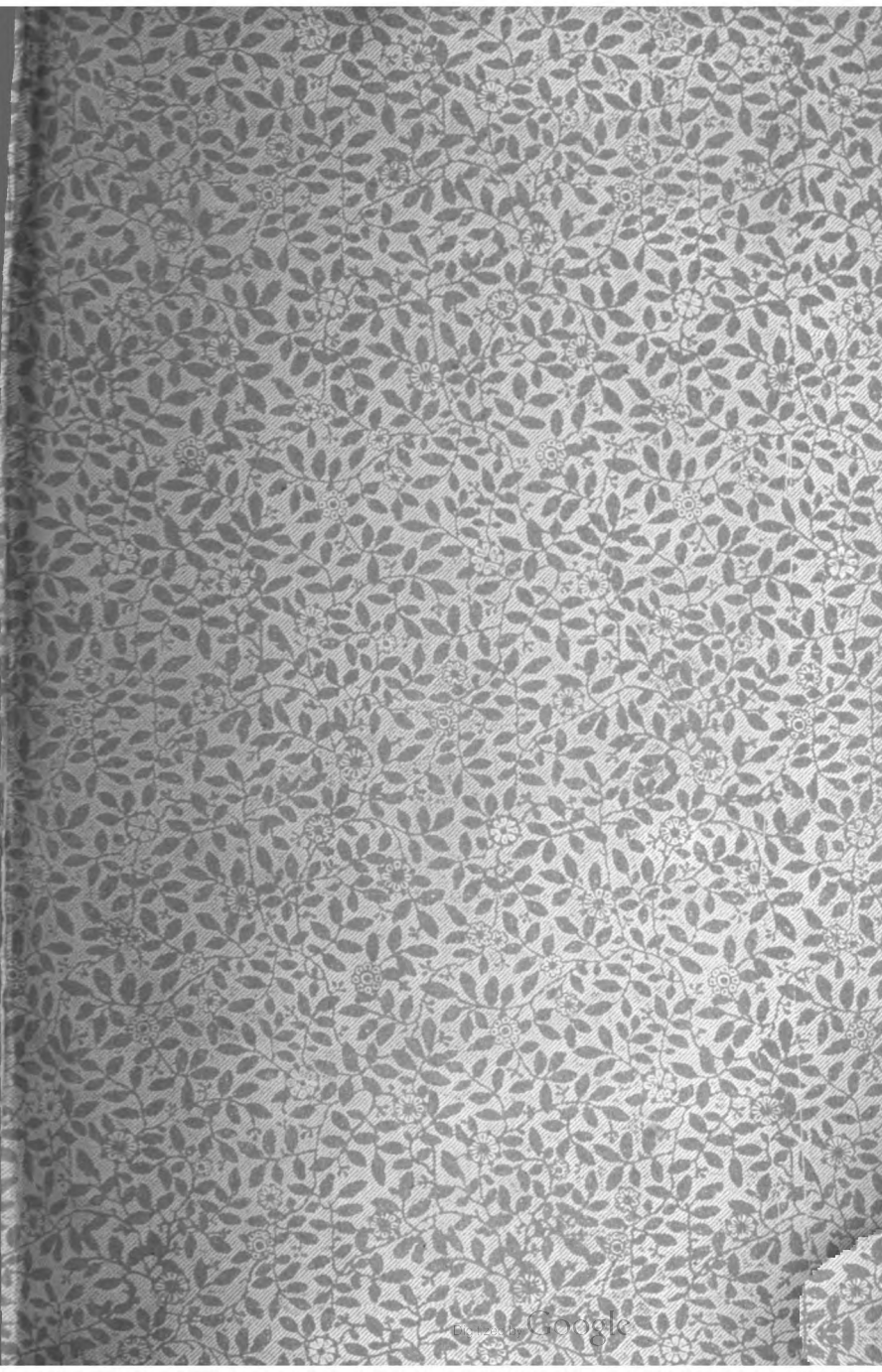
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# LIVES OF THE SAINTS.

*FROM ALBAN BUTLER.*

Selected and Edited by  
THE RIGHT REV. MGR. GODDARD.



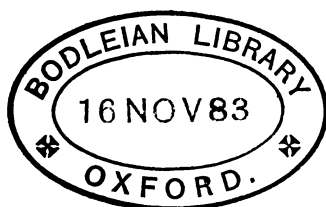
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## P R E F A C E.

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MANY of the greatest of God's saints have no other English historian than Alban Butler, and yet his "Lives" are but little known except by name, and are still less read.

It is an immense pity that this should be so, for the work of the venerable author is full of research, learning, and solid piety. One cause of the neglect is doubtless to be found in the fact that the "Lives" are distributed over twelve volumes and are oftentimes not available when most needed; and this of itself is, perhaps, a sufficient reason for affording readers an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with so excellent and interesting a work by giving a selection of the "Lives" in one volume.

Other motives are not wanting for publishing a book of this kind.

There are lives of the saints, by other writers, that are too long, and lives of the saints that are too short; even in the work of Alban Butler himself there are mere outlines of the lives of many saints, who are mentioned indeed in the Martyrology, but of whom little is known, and whose names even are not familiar to the public. Again the author's work is encumbered with notes, of extreme value to the student, but of no interest to the general reader. These inconveniences are avoided in a volume of the kind now published, which gives all that is necessary for knowledge and edification in the lives of many great servants of God.

This book will also help to supply a want much felt by heads of colleges, convents, and schools, and by ecclesiastical inspectors,

who are often at a loss for fitting books for prizes. Here is one at a moderate price, which they may safely put into the hands of any child, and which cannot fail to be of the greatest use.

The lives of many saints of much interest and importance have necessarily been omitted from this volume. If, however, it proves in any sense a success, a second and a third series will be published. The second series will embrace the history of the Feasts of our Saviour and our Lady, the Lives of the Apostles, etc. ; the third series will contain the lives of many great saints, which, from want of space, have not been included in this book.

It may be well to say that no change has been made in the text of the author.

CHISLEHURST,

*Feast of St. James, Ap., 1883.*

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# LIVES OF THE SAINTS.



## SAINT AMBROSE, B.C.,

DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.

A.D. 397.

AN invincible courage and constancy in resisting evil is a necessary ingredient of virtue, especially in the episcopal character. Gentleness, meekness, humility, and obedience make the servant of God ready to yield and conform himself to everyone in things indifferent ; but in those of duty he is inflexible, not with wilfulness or obstinacy, but with modesty, yet invincible firmness. Of this virtue St. Ambrose, in the judgment of the learned Hermant, was the most admirable model among all the great pastors of God's Church since the Apostles. His father, whose name was also Ambrose, was Prefect of the Prætorium in Gaul, by which office not only France, but also a considerable part of Italy and Germany, the five Roman provinces in Britain, eight in Spain, and Mauritania Tingitana in Africa, were under his jurisdiction. He was blessed with three children : Marcellina (the eldest, who received the religious veil from the hands of Pope Liberius), Satyrus, and our saint (who bore his father's name). It is clear from Paulinus that he was born in the city where his father resided and kept his court in Gaul ; but whether this was Arles, Lyons, or Triers, modern authors are not agreed in their conjectures. The saint's birth happened about the year 340. Whilst the child lay asleep in one of the courts of his father's palace, a swarm of bees flew about his cradle, and some of them crept in and out at his mouth, which was open ; at last they mounted up into the air so high that they quite vanished out of sight. This was esteemed a presage of future greatness and eloquence. The like is said to have happened to Plato. The father of St. Ambrose dying whilst he was yet an

infant, his mother left Gaul and returned to Rome, her own country. She took special care of the education of her children, and Ambrose profited much by her instructions, and by the domestic examples which she, his sister, and other holy virgins that were with them, set them.

He learned the Greek language, became a good poet and orator, and went with his brother Satyrus from Rome to Milan, which was then the seat of the *Prætorium* or Supreme Court of Judicature. His writings are to this day a standing proof how vigorously he applied himself to human literature. Having finished his studies, he was taken notice of, and his friendship was courted by the first men of the empire, particularly by Anicius Probus and Symmachus, two persons of great learning and abilities, though the latter was an idolater. The first was made by Valentinian, in 368, *Prætorian Prefect* of Italy, and in his court St. Ambrose pleaded causes with so much reputation that Probus made choice of him to be his assessor. Afterward he made him Governor of Liguria and *Æmilia*—that is, of all that country which comprehends at this day the archbishoprics, with the suffragan dioceses, of Milan, Turin, Genoa, Ravenna, and Bologna. Probus, who was a magistrate of great worth and integrity, said to him at parting: "Go thy way, and govern more like a bishop than a judge." The young Governor, by his watchfulness, probity, and mildness, endeavoured to comply with this advice, which was most conformable to his natural goodness and inclinations. Auxentius, an Arian, and a violent and subtle persecutor of the Catholics, who upon the banishment of St. Dionysius had usurped the See of Milan, and held it tyrannically for almost twenty years, died in 374. The city was distracted by furious parties and tumults about the election of a new bishop, some of the clergy and people demanding an Arian, others a Catholic, for their pastor. To prevent an open sedition, St. Ambrose thought it the duty of his office to go to the church in which the assembly was held; there he made an oration to the people with much discretion and mildness, exhorting them to proceed in their choice with the spirit of peace, and without tumult. While he was yet speaking, a child cried out, "Ambrose Bishop!" This the whole assembly took up, and both Catholics and Arians unanimously proclaimed him Bishop of Milan. This unexpected choice surprised him; he presently withdrew, and made use of all the artifices he could to shun this charge. He ascended the bench of justice, and affecting to seem cruel and unworthy of the priesthood, caused certain criminals to be brought before him and put to the torture. The people, perceiving all the stratagems he made use of to be affected, continued still in their choice, where-

upon he stole out of the city by night, with a design to retire to Pavia ; but, missing his way, he wandered up and down all night, and found himself next morning at the gates of Milan. His flight being known, a guard was set upon him, and a relation of all that had passed was sent to the Emperor, whose consent was necessary that an officer in his service should be chosen bishop. Ambrose wrote also to him on his own behalf, that he might be excused from that office. Valentinian, who was then at Triers, answered the clergy and people that it gave him the greatest pleasure that he had chosen governors and judges who were fit for the episcopal office ; and, at the same time, he sent an order to the Vicar or Lieutenant of Italy to see that the election took place. In the meantime Ambrose once more made his escape, and hid himself in the house of Leontius, one of those senators who had the title of *Clarissimi* ; but the Vicar of Italy having published a severe order against anyone who should conceal him, or who, knowing where he was, should not discover him, Leontius, by an innocent kind of treachery, declared where he was. Ambrose, finding it in vain to resist any longer, yielded himself up, but insisted that the canons forbade anyone who was only a catechumen to be promoted to the priesthood. He was answered that such ecclesiastical canons may be dispensed with on extraordinary occasions. Ambrose therefore was first baptized, and, after due preparation, received the episcopal consecration on the 7th of December in 374 ; not in 375, as some have wrote, for Valentinian I. died on the 10th of November in 375. St. Ambrose was about thirty-four years old when he was ordained bishop.

He was no sooner placed in the episcopal chair than, considering that he was no longer a man of this world, and resolving to break all ties which could hold him to it, he gave to the Church and the poor all the gold and silver of which he was possessed. His lands and estates he gave also to the Church, reserving only an income for the use of his sister Marcellina during her life. The care of his family and temporalities he committed to his brother Satyrus, that, being disengaged from all temporal concerns, he might give himself up wholly to his ministry and prayer. So perfectly did he renounce the world, and his mind dwelt so much above it, that temptations to riches and honours never had any weight with him. Soon after his ordination he wrote to the Emperor Valentinian severe complaints against some of the imperial judges and magistrates. To which the Emperor replied, "I was long since acquainted with your freedom of speech, which did not hinder me from consenting to your ordination. Continue to apply to our sins the remedies prescribed by the divine law." St. Basil also

wrote to him, to congratulate with him, or rather with the Church, upon his promotion, and to exhort him vigorously to oppose the Arians, and to fight a good fight. St. Ambrose first applied himself to study the Scriptures, and to read ecclesiastical writers, particularly Origen and St. Basil. In these studies he put himself under the conduct and instruction of Simplicianus, a learned and pious Roman priest, whom he loved as a friend, honoured as a father, and revered as a master. This Simplicianus succeeded him in the archbishopric of Milan, and is honoured among the saints on the 16th of August. Whilst St. Ambrose studied he neglected not from the beginning assiduously to instruct his people. He purged the diocese of Milan of the leaven of the Arian heresy with such wonderful success that, in the year 385, there remained not one citizen of Milan infected with it, except a few Goths and some persons belonging to the imperial family, as he assures us. His instructions were enforced by an admirable innocence and purity of manners, prayers, rigorous abstinence, and a fast which he kept almost every day ; for he never dined except on Sundays, the feasts of certain famous martyrs, and all Saturdays, on which it was the custom at Milan never to fast ; but when he was at Rome he fasted on Saturdays. To avoid the danger of intemperance, he excused himself from going to banquets or great tables, and entertained others at his own with great frugality. He spent a considerable part both of the day and of the night in devout prayer, and every day offered the holy sacrifice of the altar for his people. He devoted himself entirely to the service of his flock, and of every state and condition in it ; one laborious employment serving for relaxation from another, he allowed himself no moments for amusement. He relieved the poor, comforted the afflicted, and hearkened to all men with meekness and charity, so that all his people loved and admired him. It was an inviolable rule with him never to have any hand in making matches, never to persuade anyone to serve in the army, and never to recommend persons to places at court. He had a soul exquisitely tender and compassionate, and he often employed his interest to save the lives of condemned persons. He wept with those that wept, and he rejoiced with those that rejoiced. His charity was as extensive as the necessities of human nature, and he styled the poor his stewards and treasurers, in whose hands he deposited his revenues. It was his constant care and practice to do good for evil, and to requite affronts and injuries by offices of kindness. His chamber was for the greatest part of the day filled with persons who came to consult him, and to ask his private advice. St. Austin when he came to visit him, always found him so overwhelmed with such

business, or so intent in the few moments he was able to steal to himself, that he often went into his chamber and, after some stay, came out again without being perceived by the holy Bishop, whom out of mere pity he durst not interrupt. St. Austin, whilst he taught rhetoric at Milan, before he was baptized assisted frequently at St. Ambrose's sermons, not out of piety, but of curiosity, and for the pleasure of hearing his eloquence; but took notice that his delivery was not so pleasing as that of Faustus the Manichee, though what he said was always very solid; and he preached every Sunday.

Our holy bishop, in his discourses, frequently enlarged very much on the praises of the holy state and virtue of virginity. By his exhortations many virgins who came from Bologna Placentia, and even Mauritania, served God in this state under his direction. He had been bishop only two years, when, at the request of his sister Marcellina, he committed to writing what he had delivered from the pulpit in commendation of that holy state. This he executed in his three books "On Virgins," or "On Virginity," written in the year 377, and penned with singular elegance, for which they are justly admired by St. Jerome and St. Austin, though the sincere piety which the language everywhere breathes deserves chiefly the reader's attention. In the first book, the praises of St. Agnes, and in the second, the conduct and virtues of the Blessed Virgin Mary (which he proposes as a perfect pattern to virgins), the example of St. Thecla, and the history of a Christian virgin of Antioch, who was carried to the stewes, are set off with inimitable elegance, and painted with the most beautiful flowers and figures of rhetoric. He enlarges on the excellency of virginity, and shows the spiritual advantages of that state. In the third book, he prescribes the principal duties of those who have embraced it, ordering them to be abstemious, to shun visits, and to apply themselves to spiritual exercises and reflection, to pray often in the day, and to repeat the Lord's prayer and the psalms in bed before they sleep, and when they awake; and to recite every morning the creed as the seal of our faith. He adds that they ought to weep, and to shun excessive mirth, particularly dancing, on which he mentions the fatal consequences of the dancing of Herodias' daughter. St. Ambrose mentions that there were twenty virgins at Bologna, and that they laboured with their own hands, not only that they might gain a subsistence, but that they might also have wherewithal to bestow charity. St. Marcellina, who received the veil from Pope Liberius, in the Church of St. Peter at Rome, on Christmas Day, did not live in a society of virgins, but with her relations in Rome. Many other consecrated virgins



did the same at that time ; but they had a part of the church to themselves, separated from the rest by boards ; and on the walls were written sentences of the Scripture for their instruction. St. Ambrose wrote his treatise, "Of Widows," soon after the former work, to exhort them to perpetual chastity. This was soon followed by that "On Virginity," which he compiled to give us from the Holy Scriptures a high idea of that virtue ; but he adds a most necessary caution, that the veil is not to be given rashly to young virgins, especially such as are of a light unconstant behaviour. "Some complain," says he, "that mankind will shortly fail if so many are consecrated virgins. I desire to know who ever wanted a wife, and could not find one ? The killing of an adulterer, the pursuing or waging war against a ravisher, are the consequences of marriage. The number of people is greatest where virginity is most esteemed. Inquire how many virgins are consecrated every year at Alexandria, all over the East, and in Africa, where there are more virgins than there are men in this country." May not the French and Austrian Netherlands, full of *numerous* monasteries, yet covered with populous cities, be at present esteemed a proof of this remark ? The populousness of China, where great numbers of new-born infants are daily exposed to perish, is a dreadful proof that the voluntary virginity of some in these remote ages of the world is no prejudice. Wars and the sea, not the number of virgins, are the destroyers of the human race, as St. Ambrose observes, though the state of virginity is not to be rashly engaged in, and marriage is not only holy, but the general state of mankind in the world. St. Ambrose's book, entitled, "The Institution of a Virgin," contains a confutation of Bonosus, who renewed the error of Helvidius, denying the perpetual virginity of the Holy Mother of God. The saint adds the instructions he had given to Ambrosia, one of the twenty virgins at Bologna who served God under his direction : he shows that retirement, silence, humility, and prayer are the principal duties of a Christian virgin. Toward the end, the ceremonies of the solemn profession of a virgin are described. She presented herself at the foot of the altar, where she made her profession before the people ; the bishop preached to her, and gave her the veil which distinguished her from other virgins ; but her hair was not cut, as was done in the initiation of clergymen and monks. In the close the author invites Jesus Christ to come on the day of these spiritual nuptials to receive His handmaid, who consecrates herself to Him by a public profession, after having long before dedicated herself to Him in spirit and in her heart.

The Emperor Valentinian I., who resided sometimes at Triers,

sometimes at Milan, died of an apoplexy in Pannonia, being engaged in a war against the Sarmatians and the Quadi, on the 17th of November, in the year 375, of his age fifty-five. Gratian, his eldest son, by his first wife, Severa, then sixteen years old, was then at Triers, and had been before associated by his father in the empire. Valentinian, his younger son, by Justina, a second wife, was with his mother on the borders of Pannonia, and him the army of his father saluted emperor, though he was then only four years old. Gratian took not this step amiss, but confirmed to his brother that dignity, and promised to be to him a father, and, contenting himself with the provinces which lie on this side of the Alps, yielded up to him Italy, Africa, and Illyricum, though he kept the administration till his brother should be of age, and resided at Triers or Mentz. Fritigern, King of the Goths, having invaded the Roman territories in Thrace and Pannonia, Gratian determined to lead an army into the East to the succour of his uncle Valens. But in order to guard himself against the snares of Arianism, of which Valens was the protector, he desired of St. Ambrose, whom he honoured with a singular veneration, some instructions in writing against that heresy. In compliance with this request, the holy prelate wrote, in 377, the work entitled, "On the Faith, to Gratian," or, "On the Trinity," which, with three books which he added in 379, consists of five books, and is an excellent confutation of the Arian heresy, is written with much wit, vigour, and subtilty, the subject is set off with lively and pleasant descriptions, and the objections are removed with great clearness. St. Ambrose's books, "Of the Holy Ghost," are written in a less concise, less lively, and smart style than the former, because, says St. Austin, the subjects required not ornaments of speech to move the heart, but proofs of the divine truth concerning the consubstantiality of the third Person addressed to the understanding. Many things in it are copied from St. Athanasius, and from Didymus and St. Basil's books on that subject. St. Ambrose's book, "On the Incarnation," is an answer to certain objections of the Arians addressed to two officers of Gratian's court.

Valens was defeated by the Goths, whom he had rashly engaged not very far from Adrianople, and was himself burnt in a cottage into which he had retired in his flight, in order to have his wounds dressed, in 378. His unhappy death was looked upon as a just judgment for his persecution of the Catholics, and his tyranny, especially in having caused the streets of Antioch to swim with streams of innocent blood, and many houses to be consumed by flames, for which it was said he deserved to be himself burnt;

and, as he was hated whilst he lived, so he died without being regretted. Gratian, by the death of Valens, became master of the Eastern Empire ; but, seeing it attacked on all sides by triumphant barbarians, sent thither Theodosius, a general of great probity and valour, who, with his father, a virtuous general of the same name, had triumphed over the barbarians in Britain and Africa ; but the father, out of mere jealousy, being unjustly put to death by Valens, the son had led from that time a retired life in Spain. Theodosius vanquished the Goths, pacified the whole empire, and made excellent regulations in all the provinces under his command, insomuch that, on the 16th of January in 379, Gratian gave him the purple and crown at Sirmich, in presence of their two armies, and declared him his colleague, and Emperor of the East, giving him Thrace, and all that Valens had possessed, and also the eastern part of Illyricum, of which Thessalonica was then the capital. The Goths had extended their ravages from Thrace into Illyricum, and as far as the Alps. St. Ambrose, not content to lay out all the money he could raise in redeeming the captives, employed for that use the gold vessels belonging to the Church, which he caused to be broken and melted down ; but such only as were not yet consecrated, reserving those which were for a more pressing necessity. The Arians reproached him upon this account ; to whom he answered, that he thought it much more expedient, to save the souls of men than gold ; for not only the lives of the captives and the honour of the women were preserved, but the children were rescued from being educated in idolatry. "I find," said he, "that the blood of Jesus Christ poured out in the gold plate hath not only shone therein, but hath also impressed upon it the virtue of redemption." Many Arians who, upon that occasion, fled from Illyricum into Italy, were converted to the faith by the care of St. Ambrose, who was indefatigable in every branch of his pastoral charge. Every Lent he bestowed so much pains and labour in instructing the catechumens that, when he died, five bishops could hardly go through with that which he used himself to perform.

In 379 St. Ambrose lost his brother Satyrus, to whom he had committed the care of all his temporal affairs. Satyrus, attempting to go to Africa to recover some money due to his brother, was shipwrecked ; and, not being baptized, desired some that were there to give him the holy Mysteries, that is, the Blessed Eucharist, to carry with him ; for the faithful carried It in long voyages, that they might not be deprived of It. As none but those who were baptized were allowed even to have a sight of It, Satyrus begged them to wrap It in an orarium, which was a kind of long handker-

chief at that time worn by the Romans about their necks. This he wrapped about him, and threw himself into the sea, without seeking a plank to support him ; yet, by swimming, he was the first who came to land. It seems to have been in the isle of Sardinia. Satyrus, being then a catechumen, addressed himself to the bishop of the place in order to be immediately baptized ; but first asked him whether he was in communion with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Church of Rome, says St. Ambrose ; and, finding that he took part in the schism of Lucifer, he chose rather to venture again upon the sea than to receive baptism from a schismatic. When he arrived in a Catholic country he was baptized, the grace of which sacrament he never forfeited, as his brother affirms. Satyrus died soon after his return to Milan, in the arms of St. Ambrose and St. Marcellina, and left his wealth to be disposed of by them, without making a will. They thought he had only made them stewards of it, and gave it all to the poor. The funeral of Satyrus was performed with great solemnity, at which St. Ambrose made an oration, which is extant, from which these particulars are taken. The seventh day after they returned to the grave to repeat the solemn obsequies, as was usual ; and St. Ambrose made there another discourse, in which he expatiated on the happiness of death, and the belief of the resurrection ; on which account it is often called, "A Discourse on the Resurrection." The Church commemorates St. Satyrus on the 17th of September.

In 381 St. Ambrose held a council at Milan, against the heresy of Apollinaris ; and assisted at another at Aquileia, in which he procured the deposition of two Arian bishops, named Palladius and Secundianus. In a journey which he made to Sirmich, he compassed the election of a Catholic bishop to occupy that see, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Empress Justina in favour of an Arian candidate. In 382 our saint assisted at a council which Pope Damasus held at Rome, in order to apply a remedy to the divisions which reigned in the Oriental Church about the See of Antioch. Paulinus relates that whilst he continued there, a certain woman that kept a public bath, and lay bedrid of a palsy, caused herself to be conveyed in a chair to the place where the holy Bishop said Mass, and importuned him to intercede with Heaven for her ; and while he was praying, and laying his hands upon her, she caught hold of his garments, and, kissing them, found her strength return, and rose up and walked.

The Emperor Gratian was chaste, temperate, mild, beneficent, and a zealous Catholic ; and St. Ambrose obtained of him, among other wholesome laws, one by which, to prevent surprises in con-

demning accused persons, it was enacted that no one should be executed sooner than thirty days after sentence. He prevailed with the same prince to remove the altar of victory out of the Senate House, which Julian the Apostate had restored. Yet this emperor gave too much of his time to hunting, shooting of beasts in a park, casting the javelin, and other such corporal exercises, making an employment of a recreation, in which idleness his governors and ministers entertained him that they might remain masters of affairs. Hence he did not sufficiently attend to business, and look into the conduct of his officers; and Macedonius, Prefect of the Prætorium, was a man openly addicted to bribery. Complaints which were raised alienated the affections of many; and Maximus, an accomplished general who commanded the troops in Britain (where Theodosius had formerly been his colleague, who was then become Emperor of the East), assumed the purple, and passed with his army into Gaul. Gratian left Triers upon his approach, and near Lyons a battle was fought, which continued five days, till Gratian, perceiving part of his army deserting him, fled with three hundred horse. Andragathius, general of Maximus's horse, contrived the following stratagem: He was carried in a close horse-litter, and it was given out that it was the Empress who was coming to her husband. Gratian passed the Rhone to meet her; but when he came near, the general leaped out of the litter, and stabbed him. This happened on the 25th of August in 383. Gratian lamented with his expiring breath that his father Ambrose was not with him. Maximus after this ranged at pleasure, treated those of Gratian's party with great severity, and threatened to cross the Alps, and attack Valentinian II., Gratian's half-brother, who resided at Milan with his mother Justina. To prevent this danger the Empress despatched St. Ambrose upon an embassy to Maximus. The saint, by the gravity of his person, the authority of his office, his humble address and eloquent insinuations, stopped the usurper in his march, and at length concluded with him a treaty by which Maximus was to enjoy Gaul, Britain, and Spain, and Valentinian Italy, with the rest of the West. St. Ambrose passed the winter with Maximus at Triers, in 384; and had the courage constantly to refuse to communicate with a tyrant who was stained with the blood of his master, and to exhort him to do penance. In these times of confusion the Gentiles at Rome attempted to restore the abolished rites of their superstition. At their head appeared Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, a senator of great eminence, an admirable scholar, statesman, and orator, at that time Prefect of Rome. In autumn, in the year 384, this man presented a request to Valen-

tinian, in the name of the senate, begging that the altar of victory might be re-established in the Senate House, and the salaries restored to the priests and vestal virgins, to which he ascribed the victories and prosperity of ancient Rome. A like petition had been before presented to Gratian in 382, but was disavowed by the Christian senators (who were the greater number), and rejected by that prince. St. Ambrose having privately received notice of Symmachus's petition, wrote against it two beautiful apologies or letters to Valentinian, in which even his eloquence seems superior to that of the pagan, who was esteemed the greatest orator of his age. In the first he desired that a copy of Symmachus's petition should be communicated to him, remonstrating at the same time to the Emperor that, as all the subjects of the Roman Empire ought to submit to him, so he was obliged to obey the only true God, and to defend the religion of Christ; that he could never concur to idolatry; and the Church or bishops would never receive oblations from him who had given ornaments to the temples of idols: his gifts cannot be presented on the altar of Jesus Christ who hath made an altar for false gods, etc. In the second the saint confuted all that was alleged in the petition. These apologies being read in the council in presence of the Emperor, he answered the Gentiles that he loved Rome as his mother, but obeyed God as the Author of his salvation.

The Empress Justina, though an Arian, durst not openly espouse the interest of her sect during the lives of her husband Valentinian I. and of Gratian. But the peace which St. Ambrose had procured between Maximus and her son gave her an opportunity to persecute the Catholics, especially the holy Bishop; for she ungratefully forgot the obligations which she and her son had to him. When Easter was near at hand, in 385, she sent to him certain ministers of state to demand of him the Portian basilic, now called St. Victor's, without the city, for the use of the Arians, for herself, her son, and many officers of the court. The saint replied that he could never give up the temple of God. By other messengers of the first rank she afterward demanded the new basilic; then again insisted on having at least the former; but the Bishop was inflexible. Certain deans or officers of the court were sent to take possession of the Portian basilic by hanging up in it imperial escutcheons. The citizens, enraged at this violence, seized in the street an Arian priest called Castulus. St. Ambrose, being informed of this whilst he was at the altar, wept bitterly, prayed that God would suffer no blood to be shed, and sent out certain priests and deacons, who delivered the Arian priest. The court, to punish the citizens for this commotion,



taxed them two hundred pounds weight in gold. They answered that they were willing to pay as much more provided they might be allowed to retain the true faith. Certain counts and tribunes came to summon St. Ambrose to deliver up the basilic, saying the Emperor claimed it as his right. The Bishop answered, "Should he require what is my own, as my land or my money, I would not refuse him, though all that I possess belongs to the poor; but the Emperor has no right to that which belongs to God. If you require my estate, you may take it; if my body, I readily give it up; have you a mind to load me with irons, or to put me to death, I am content. I shall not fly to the protection of the people, nor cling to the altars: I choose rather to be sacrificed for the sake of the altars." St. Ambrose continued all that day in the old basilic; but at night went home to his house, that if they designed to seize him, they might readily find him. The next morning, which was Wednesday, he went out before day to the old basilic, which was immediately surrounded with soldiers. A troop of soldiers was sent to seize on the new church; but St. Ambrose sent certain priests thither to officiate, and they threatened the soldiers with excommunication if they offered any violence; and they came into the church and prayed peaceably, being Catholics. In the evening St. Ambrose preached on patience. After the sermon a secretary arrived from the court, who, calling the Bishop aside, made him severe reproaches, and told him that he set himself up for a tyrant. The Bishop replied, "Maximus, who complains that by my embassy I stopped him from marching into Italy, says not that I am the tyrant over Valentinian. Bishops never set themselves up for tyrants, but have often suffered much from tyrants." The Catholics spent all that day in sorrow; and the basilic being surrounded with soldiers, St. Ambrose could not return home to his own house, but passed the night in reading psalms with his brethren in the little basilic of the church, or in some oratory in the outer buildings. The next day, which was Maundy Thursday, St. Ambrose prayed and preached to the people till news was brought him that the Emperor had withdrawn the soldiers from the basilic, and had restored to the merchants and citizens the mulct which he had imposed upon them, upon which all joined in joy and thanksgiving. St. Ambrose gave an account of these transactions to his sister Marcellina, who was then at Rome, and had earnestly begged it of him. At the conclusion of this relation, he adds that he foresees greater commotions. After this he says, "The eunuch Calligonus, high chamberlain, said to me, 'Thou despisest Valentinian whilst I am yet living; I will cut off thy head.' To which I replied,

‘ May God permit me so to suffer ; then I shall suffer as a bishop, and you will act a part becoming a eunuch or courtier. I beseech God that all the enemies of the Church may cease persecuting her, and level all their shafts at me, to quench their thirst with my blood.’ ” Soon after Calligonus was convicted of a heinous crime, and beheaded.

The Empress was still more exasperated against St. Ambrose by the resistance of the people ; and persuaded her son to make a law for authorizing the religious assemblies of the Arians, which was published on the 23rd of January, 386. The true author of this law was Mercurinus, whom the Arians made Bishop of Milan for those of their sect, and who took the name of Auxentius II. In consequence of this law, which forbade anyone under pain of death to oppose the religious assemblies of Arians, no one could so much as advise or present a petition against a church being yielded up to them without incurring the danger of being proscribed or put to death. The Empress, therefore, in the following Lent, in 386, again demanded of St. Ambrose the Portian basilic. The holy prelate answered : “ Naboth would not give up the inheritance of his ancestors, and shall I give up that of Jesus Christ ? God forbid that I should abandon that of my fathers ; of St. Dionysius, who died in exile for the defence of the faith ; of St. Eustorgius the Confessor ; of St. Miroclus, and of all the other holy bishops my predecessors.” Dalmatius, a tribune and notary, came to St. Ambrose from the Emperor, with an order that he should choose his judges at court, as Auxentius had done on his side, that his and Auxentius’s cause might be tried before them and the Emperor, which if he refused to do, he was forthwith to retire, and yield up his see to Auxentius. The saint took the advice of his clergy, and of some Catholic bishops who were then at Milan ; then wrote his answer to the Emperor, wherein, amongst other things, he says, “ Who can deny that in causes of faith the bishops judge Christian emperors ? so far are they from being judged by them. Would you have me choose lay judges, that if they maintain the true faith, they may be banished, or put to death ? Would you have me expose them either to a prevarication or to torments ? Ambrose is not of that consequence for the priesthood to be debased and dishonoured for his sake. The life of one man is not to be compared with the dignity of all the bishops. If a conference is to be held about the faith, it belongs to the bishops to hold it, as was done under Constantine, who left them the liberty of being judges.”

After sending this remonstrance to the Emperor, signed by his own hand, St. Ambrose retired into the church, where he was for

some time guarded by the people, who stood within doors night and day, lest he should be carried away by violence; and the church was soon surrounded by soldiers sent from court, who suffered people to go in, but no one to come out. St. Ambrose being thus shut up with the people, preached often to them. One of those sermons, which he made on Palm Sunday, is extant, under this title: "On not Delivering up the Basilics." In it he says, "Are you afraid that I would forsake you, to secure my own life? But you might have observed by my answer that I could not possibly forsake the Church, because I fear the Lord of the whole world more than the Emperor; that if they carry me by force from the Church, they may draw away my body, but they can never separate my mind from it: that if he proceeds against me as a prince, I will suffer as a bishop. Why then are you troubled? I shall never quit you voluntarily; but I can never resist or oppose violence. I can sigh and lament; I can weep and groan. But tears are my only arms against swords, soldiers, and Goths. Bishops have no other defence. I cannot, I ought not to resist any other ways. But as to flying away and forsaking my Church, that I will never do. The respect which I have for the Emperor does not make me yield cowardly: I offer myself willingly to torments, and fear not the mischiefs they threaten me with. It was proposed to me to deliver up the vessels belonging to the Church; I answered that if they asked me for my land, my gold, or my silver, I willingly offered them; but I can take nothing out of the Church of God. If they aim at my body and my life, you ought only to be spectators of the combat; if it is appointed by God, all your precautions will be vain. He that loveth me cannot give a better testimony thereof than by suffering me to become the victim of Jesus Christ. I expected something extraordinary, either to be killed by the sword, or to be burnt for the name of Jesus Christ. They offer me pleasures instead of sufferings. Let none, therefore, disturb you by saying that a chariot is prepared, or that Auxentius hath spoken severe things. It was generally said that murderers were sent, and that I was condemned to die. I fear it not, and will not leave this place. Whither should I go? Is not every place full of groans and tears, since orders are everywhere given to drive away Catholic bishops, to put those to death who resist, and to proscribe all the officers of cities who put not these orders in execution? What have we said in our answers to the Emperor which is not agreeable to duty and humility? If he asketh tribute, we do not refuse it; the Church lands pay tribute. If he desireth our estates, he may take them; none of us maketh any opposition; I do not give

them ; but then I do not refuse them ; the people's contributions are more than sufficient to maintain the poor. We are reproached on account of the gold which we distribute amongst them ; so far am I from denying it, that I glory in it ; the prayers of the poor are my defence ; those blind, those lame, those aged persons are more powerful than the stoutest warriors. We render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. The tribute is Cæsar's, the Church is God's. Nobody can say that this is to be wanting in respect to the Emperor. What is more for his honour than to style him the son of the Church ? The Emperor is in the Church, not above it." The saint spoke with an astonishing intrepidity of the sword, fire, or banishment, detected boldly the impiety of Auxentius, and other Arian persecutors, and called their new law a flying sword sent over the empire to kill some by corporal death, others in their souls by the guilt of sacrilege. What he mentioned of the chariot is explained by Paulinus, who relates that one Euthymius had placed a chariot at a house near the church, that he might take away St. Ambrose with greater ease, and carry him into banishment. But a year after he was himself put into the same chariot, and carried from that very house into banishment, under which misfortune St. Ambrose furnished him with money and other necessities for his journey. This historian mentions several other stratagems laid during this time to take or kill the servant of God, and says that one came with a sword to the chamber of St. Ambrose, in order to murder him ; but that, lifting up his hand with the naked sword, his arm remained extended in the air motionless, till he confessed that Justina had sent him upon that errand, and, upon his repentance, he recovered the use of the arm. When St. Ambrose had remained several days in the church and adjacent buildings within its enclosure, with the people who kept the doors shut, and guarded the passes, the guards were removed, and he returned to his house.

St. Ambrose mentions that the Arians reproached him with leading the people into error by singing hymns, and he allows that by hymns he taught them to testify their faith in the Trinity. To comfort his people under this persecution, he encouraged them to assiduity in singing the hymns and anthems which he composed. Psalms were always sung throughout the whole Church ; but St. Ambrose seems first to have established at Milan the custom which he learned from the Oriental churches of singing psalms alternately by two choirs, which spread from Milan to all the churches of the West. God gave a visible consolation to this saint and his afflicted flock in the very heat of the persecution by

the discovery of the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, of which he gives an account in a letter to his sister. He writes that, being desirous to dedicate a new church (which at present is called from him the Ambrosian basilic) in the same manner that he had before consecrated the Roman basilic (which was another church at Milan near the Roman gate), he was at a loss for want of some relics of martyrs till, causing the ground to be broke up before the rails of the sepulchres of SS. Nabor and Felix, he found the bones of SS. Gervasius and Protasius. These relics were laid in the Faustinian basilic, and the next morning were translated into the Ambrosian basilic, during which translation a blind man named Severus, a butcher by trade, was cured by touching the bier on which the relics lay with a handkerchief, and then applying it to his eyes. He had been blind several years, was known to the whole city, and the miracle was performed before a prodigious number of people, and is testified also by St. Austin, who was then at Milan, in three several parts of his works, and by Paulinus in the life of St. Ambrose. Our saint made two sermons on the occasion of this translation, in which he speaks of this and other miracles wrought by the holy relics, by which he assures us that many possessed persons were delivered, and many sick healed. St. Austin and Paulinus say that an end was put to the persecution of St. Ambrose by the discovery of these relics in 386. The Arians indeed at court pretended that St. Ambrose had suborned men to feign themselves possessed, which calumny he confutes in the second of these sermons by the notoriety and evidence of the facts, which were such as to put the Arians to silence, and to oblige the Empress to let St. Ambrose remain in peace. Dr. Middleton revives the slanders of the Arians, pretending these miracles to be juggle and imposture. But Dr. Caves mentions the miraculous cure of Severus, and the many other miracles wrought by those relics, and by the towels and handkerchiefs laid upon the bodies, as incontestable, attested by St. Ambrose in sermons preached upon the spot before the relics. This learned Protestant critic adds: "The truth of which miracles is abundantly justified by St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and Paulinus, who were all then upon the place; and indeed they were notoriously evident to the whole city, and twice the subject of St. Ambrose's sermons. I make no doubt but God suffered these to confront the Arian impieties, and to give the highest attestation to the Catholic cause, so mightily at this time opposed, traduced, and persecuted." Maximus, who had been then acknowledged Emperor both by Valentinian and Theodosius in solemn treaties, wrote to Valentinian, exhorting him not to persecute the Catholic Church, as Sozomen and Theodoret

testify. "All Italy," said he, "Africa, Gaul, Aquitain, and Spain, and, in short, Rome, which holds the first rank in religion as well as in empire, maintain this faith."

In the year 387 news daily came to Milan of the preparations Maximus was making to invade Italy. Ambition is restless and insatiable ; its burning thirst is only increased by the greatest successes, till it is at length buried in the pit which itself has dug, as Cineus elegantly but unsuccessfully represented to King Pyrrhus. Maximus thought Britain, Gaul, and Spain, which he possessed in peace, and without danger of being molested, as nothing so long as he was not master of Italy ; and the astonishing success of his usurpation made him only enlarge his views further and think more due to him. Valentinian and his weak mother were in no condition to oppose him, and in this distress they had again recourse to St. Ambrose, whom they besought to stand in the gap, and venture on a second embassy to stop the march of a prosperous usurper. The good Bishop, burying the memory both of public and private injuries, readily undertook the journey, and, arriving at Triers, the next day went to court. Maximus refused to admit him to an audience but in public consistory, though the contrary was a customary privilege both of bishops and of all imperial ambassadors. St. Ambrose made a remonstrance upon this account, but chose rather to recede from his dignity than not execute his commission. He therefore was introduced into the consistory, where Maximus was seated on a throne, who rose up to give him a kiss, according to the custom of saluting bishops and great men in those times. But Ambrose stood still among the counsellors, though they persuaded him to go near the throne, and the Emperor called him. Maximus reproached him with having deceived him in his former embassy by preventing him from entering Italy at a time when nothing could have opposed him. St. Ambrose said he was come to justify himself, though it was glorious to have saved the life of an orphan prince ; but that he could not have opposed the march of his legions, or shut up the Alps with his body ; and that he had not deceived him in anything ; only when Maximus insisted that Valentinian should come to him, he had pleaded that it was not reasonable that a child should cross the Alps in the depth of winter. He added that Valentinian had sent Maximus's brother, whom he saw there present, safe to him when he could have sacrificed him to his passion when the news of the bloody assassination of his brother Gratian was brought to him ; but he conquered his resentment, and scorned to pay like for like. The Bishop reproved Maximus for the murder of Gratian, and of many great men



whom he had put to death for no other crime than their fidelity to their natural prince, for which he admonished him to do penance. He also entreated him to give up the body of Gratian to Valentinian, a brother dead, for his own brother whom he had received alive and unhurt; the ashes of an emperor only that he might not be deprived of the honour of a burial. The tyrant answered that he would consider of it; but he was extremely incensed at St. Ambrose, because he constantly refused to communicate either with the tyrant or with any of his bishops; these were the Ithacians, who desired the death of the Priscillianist heretics. When he was inflexible in this point, he was ordered forthwith to depart. Seeing Hyginus, an aged bishop, sent at the same time into banishment, he interceded that he might be furnished with necessary provisions, and not sent without a garment to cover him, or a bed to lie on. But St. Ambrose could not be heard, and was himself thrust out of doors. He therefore returned to Milan, and wrote to Valentinian an account of his unsuccessful embassy, advising him to be cautious how he treated with Maximus, a concealed enemy, who pretended peace, but intended war. The event showed the truth of this conjecture; for Valentinian sent Domnus, a favourite courtier, to succeed St. Ambrose in this embassy. Maximus entertained him with all the obliging caresses and demonstrations of honour, amused him with assurances, and, as an instance of his friendship toward Valentinian, sent back with him a considerable part of his army, as he gave out, to assist the Emperor against the barbarians who were then falling upon Pannonia. But these soldiers, coming to the Alps, seized all the narrow passages, which was no sooner done than Maximus followed after with his whole army, and marched without the least opposition into Italy, where he took up his quarters at Aquileia.

The news of this unexpected surprise carried terror into every place. Valentinian and his mother, in the utmost consternation, took ship, and fled to Thessalonica, whence they sent to the Emperor Theodosius, to beg his speedy assistance before all was lost. That great prince had been employed in quelling the barbarians on different sides, and settling the peace of the Church and State in the East, which had hindered him from revenging the death of Gratian. Upon receiving the message of the fugitive young Emperor, he left Constantinople, and went to Thessalonica, where, in the most tender and paternal manner, he comforted the distressed remains of the family of the great Valentinian I. He represented to the young prince that, by favouring the Arian impiety, and persecuting the Catholic Church, he had provoked Heaven; and

he effaced out of his mind all the impressions of heresy; for it was a fundamental maxim with Theodosius to undertake no enterprise without first doing everything by which he might engage God on his side. Theodosius had some time before buried his most virtuous wife, the Empress Flaccilla, who was descended of the Ælian family (of which was the Emperor Adrian), but was more illustrious by her virtues than by her birth. Prayer and the care of the poor were her chief employments. She went to visit them, served them herself, and was proud of descending to the lowest offices of Christian charity in attending the sick under the most loathsome diseases. She made no other use of the entire confidence which her husband reposed in her, and of the influence which her virtue and amiable qualifications gave her over the mind of that great prince, than to inspire him with piety, the most sacred respect for the divine law, and the warmest zeal for religion, finding much more pleasure in seeing him holy, than seeing him master of the world. To preserve him from the snares of the Arians, whose impiety she detested, she engaged him to chase from his palace some who kept a secret correspondence with Eunomius, and appealing to the decisions of the Nicene Councils from all captious sophisms, avoided the dangers of subtle curiosity. Theodosius being then a widower, and meeting at Thessalonica the Princess Galla, sister to Valentinian II., to give him a pledge of his friendship, married her, and in spring 388, declared war against Maximus, and dismissed the ambassador the tyrant had sent to court his favour. It was his chief care to procure the blessing of God upon his army. For this he gave orders for solemn prayers to be everywhere put up to God, and sent to entreat the most eminent solitaries in Egypt to lift up their hands to heaven whilst he fought. He consulted in particular St. John, who foretold his victory, and the principal events of his reign. Setting out from Thessalonica, he caused excellent regulations for the discipline and moderation of his troops in their march to be made and observed, insomuch that no city nor province was aggrieved by their passage. With incredible valour and prudence, he entirely defeated Maximus upon the banks of the Save, near Siscia, now Peissege, in Pannonia, and soon after that tyrant's brother, Marcellin, upon the Drave, though their armies were superior in numbers to his own. Thence he despatched Arbogastes, general of the barbarians in his army, into Gaul, to seize that country, and marched himself to Aquileia, where Maximus had shut himself up. His own soldiers, seeing it impossible to escape, stripped him of his imperial robes, and delivered him into the hands of Theodosius, who reproached him for his perfidiousness

with more compassion than anger, and was inclined to spare his life ; but at last suffered him to be beheaded on the 28th of July, 388, after he had reigned almost five years.

Theodosius proceeded to Milan, where he stayed from the 10th of October to the latter end of May. At Calinicus in Mesopotamia, certain Christians, who had been insulted by the Jews in a religious procession, pulled down their synagogue. Theodosius, who had been informed of the affair by the Count of the East, ordered the Bishop, and other Christians who had demolished the synagogue, to rebuild it, and to be rigorously punished. The Oriental bishops wrote to St. Ambrose, entreating him to obtain a mitigation of this sentence. St. Ambrose solicited him first by a strong letter, and afterward by a discourse which he made him in the church ; and did not go up to the altar to say Mass till he had procured his promise of a pardon. The deputies of the senate came to compliment the Emperor at Milan, and petitioned that the altar of victory, which Maximus had allowed to be restored, might be preserved in the Senate House. Theodosius seemed inclined, upon motives of state, to grant their request ; but St. Ambrose easily engaged him to reject it. This emperor, after having passed all the winter and part of the spring at Milan, went to Rome, where in June he received the honour of a triumph. He made his entrance in a chariot drawn by elephants, which the King of Persia had lately sent him. The spoils of enemies, and the representations of provinces which he had conquered or delivered, were carried before him. The lords of his court, in rich apparel, encompassed him, and the senate, nobility, and people, followed with extraordinary acclamations. The magnificence of this pomp was incredible, yet nothing in it seemed to be regarded but the conqueror, for whom it was made, and the greatest ornament of this triumph was the modesty of him that triumphed. Pacatus, the Gaulish orator, pronounced a panegyric before him, with the applause of the senate and all the Orders of the city. Theodosius made the young Valentinian ride in his chariot, and share in the glory of the triumph. During his residence at Rome he walked about without guards, and gained the hearts of the people by his civility and generosity. He abolished the remains of idolatry, prohibited pagan festivals and sacrifices, and caused the temples to be stripped of their ornaments, and the idols to be broke in pieces. But he preserved those statues which had been made by excellent artists, ordering them to be set up in galleries, or other public places, as an ornament to the city. Symmachus, who had entered into a confederacy with Maximus, and pronounced a flattering speech in his honour, was accused of high

treason, and fled into a church for sanctuary. But Theodosius would take no notice of what had passed during the reign of the usurper; and Symmachus made a panegyric in the senate in his honour, in the close of which he artfully renewed his petition for the altar of victory. Theodosius was offended at the obstinacy of such a solicitation, and returning him thanks for his panegyric, reproved him for his assurance, and commanded him to present himself no more before him. But he soon restored him to his favour and dignity. Theodosius returned to Milan on the 1st of September, and restored the whole Western Empire to Valentinian, in whose mind, by repeated instructions, he imprinted so deeply the Catholic faith, that the young prince put himself entirely under the discipline of St. Ambrose, and honoured him as his father to his death. His mother, Justina, was dead before the end of the war. The heresiarch Jovinian having been condemned by Pope Siricius at Rome, retired to Milan; but was there rejected by Theodosius, and anathematized by St. Ambrose, in a council which he held in 390.

This council was yet sitting, when the news of a dreadful massacre committed at Thessalonica was brought to Milan. Botheric, who was general of the forces in Illyricum, and resided at Thessalonica, caused a charioteer who belonged to the circus to be put in prison, for having seduced a young servant in his family, and refused to release him on a certain festival on which his appearance in the circus was demanded for the public diversion. The people not being able to obtain his liberty, grew enraged, and proceeded to so violent a sedition that some officers were stoned to death, and their bodies dragged along the streets, and Botheric himself was slain. Upon this news Theodosius, who was naturally hasty, was transported with passion, but was mitigated by St. Ambrose and some other bishops, and promised to pardon the delinquents. Ruffinus, who became afterward a firebrand in the State, and was Master of the Offices, and other courtiers and ministers persuaded him that the insolence of the people was grown to the highest pitch merely by impunity, and must be restrained by an example of severity. It was therefore resolved that a warrant should be sent to the commander in Illyricum to let loose the soldiers against the city till about seven thousand persons should be put to death. This inhuman commission was executed with the utmost cruelty, whilst the people were assembled in the circus, soldiers surrounding and rushing in upon them. The slaughter continued for three hours, and seven thousand men were massacred, without distinguishing the innocent from the guilty. Such was the brutality of the soldiers, that a faithful slave who offered

to die for his master was murdered by them. It is also related that a certain father seeing his two sons ready to be butchered, by his tears moved the murderers to compassion so far that they promised to spare the life of one of them, whom they left to his choice ; but whilst the distracted father ran first to one, then to another, not being able to abandon either of them, they, growing impatient of delays, massacred them both. The horror with which the news of this tragical scene filled the breast of St. Ambrose and his colleagues is not to be expressed ; but our saint thought it best to give the Emperor a little time to reflect, and enter into himself. The Emperor was not then at Milan, but was to return in two or three days. St. Ambrose, that he might not see him too soon, left the town, and wrote him a very tender strong letter, which is extant, exhorting him to penance, and declaring that he neither could nor would receive his offering, or celebrate the divine Mysteries before him, till that obligation was satisfied ; for, how much soever he loved and respected him, he gave the preference to God ; and he loved his majesty, not to his prejudice, but to his salvation. Soon after the Bishop came to town, and the Emperor, according to his custom, went to church. But St. Ambrose went out and met him at the church-porch, and, forbidding him any further entrance, said, " It seems, sir, that you do not yet rightly apprehend the enormity of the massacre lately committed. Let not the splendour of your purple robes hinder you from being acquainted with the infirmities of that body which they cover. You are of the same mould with those subjects which you govern ; and there is one common Lord and Emperor of the world. With what eyes will you behold His temple ? With what feet will you tread His sanctuary ? How will you lift up to Him in prayer those hands which are still stained with blood unjustly spilt ? Depart, therefore, and attempt not, by a second offence, to aggravate your former crime ; but quietly take the yoke upon you which the Lord has appointed for you. It is sharp, but it is medicinal, and conducive to your health." The prince offered something by way of extenuation, and said that David had sinned. The holy Bishop replied, " Him whom you have followed in sinning, follow also in his repentance." Theodosius submitted, accepted the penance which the Church prescribed, and retired to his palace, where he passed eight months in mourning, without ever going into the church, and clad with penitential or mourning weeds. After this term, the feast of Christmas being come, he remained still shut up in his palace, shedding many tears. Ruffinus, the Master of the Offices, and prefect or comptroller of his household or palace, who was not

baptized before the year 391, asked him the reason of his grief, and told him he had only punished criminals, and had no cause to fall into depression of mind ; for piety required not so cruel an affliction. Thus this courtier, after having induced his master to commit a crime, attempted by his flatteries to weaken his repentance. But the Emperor, redoubling his tears and sighs, said to him, "Ruffinus, thou dost but make sport and mock me. Thou little knowest the anguish and trouble I feel. I weep and bewail my miserable condition. The Church of God is open to beggars and slaves ; but the church doors, and consequently the gates of heaven too, are shut against me. For our Lord has peremptorily declared, *Whatever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.*" Ruffinus said, "If you please, I will run to the Bishop, and will use so many arguments with him, that I will persuade him to absolve you." The Emperor answered, "It will not be in your power to do it. I know the justice of the sentence he has passed, and he is an inflexible man where the laws of religion are concerned, and will never, out of respect to the imperial dignity, do anything against the law of God." He added that it was better to finish his penance than vainly demand the favour of an over-hasty absolution. Ruffinus insisted upon it that he should prevail. Whereupon the Emperor said, "Go quickly, then." And, flattering himself with the hopes that Ruffinus had given him, he followed him soon after. St. Ambrose no sooner saw the Comptroller coming towards him, than he abruptly broke out, and said, "Ruffinus, you carry your assurance and boldness beyond all bounds. You were the adviser and author of this massacre. How can you then intercede for another? You have laid aside all shame, and neither blush nor tremble at the remembrance of so great a crime, and an assault made upon the image of God." Ruffinus fell to entreaties, and besought the Bishop with all possible earnestness, adding that the Emperor would be there by-and-by. "If so," said the Bishop, "I tell you plainly, I shall forbid him to enter the church-porch. And, if he think good to turn his power into force and tyranny, here I am, most ready to undergo any death, and to present my throat to the sword." Ruffinus, seeing the resolution of the Bishop, despatched a messenger to the Emperor, to inform him of what had passed, and to advise him to stay at home. The prince received the information in the midst of the high street ; but said, "I will go, and receive the affront and rebuke which I deserve." When he came to the enclosure of the holy place he did not go into the church ; but went to the Bishop, who was sitting in the auditory, and besought him to give him absolution. St. Ambrose stood up and said,

"What! do you come here to trample upon the holy laws of God?" "I respect them," said the Emperor; "I will not enter the sacred porch contrary to the rules; but I beseech you to free me from these bonds, and not shut against me the door which the Lord hath opened to all penitents." The Bishop said, "What penance have you done after having been guilty of such a crime?" "It is your part," said the Emperor, "to inform me what I ought to do; to prescribe the remedies and apply the plaster; and it is mine to submit, and to comply with the prescriptions." St. Ambrose ordered him to place himself amongst the public penitents in the church. Sozomen assures us that the Emperor made a public confession of his sin; and St. Ambrose, in his funeral oration, describes how he knelt at the church door, and lay long prostrate in the rank of the penitents, repeating, with David: "*My soul hath cleaved to the pavement: O Lord, restore my life according to Thy word.*" He remained in this posture, beating his breast from time to time, tearing his hair, and, with tears running down his cheeks, begged pardon of God, lamenting his sin in the sight of all the people, who were so touched at it, as to weep along with him, and to pray a long while. St. Ambrose enjoined him, before he gave him absolution, to draw up a law to cancel all decrees that are made in haste or passion, and to command a respite of thirty days before execution of all warrants or sentences which regard life or the forfeiture of estates, that it may be discovered if any surprise or passion had any part in it. This law the Emperor forthwith commanded to be drawn up, and signed it with his own hand, promising always to observe it. Such a law in part had been made by Gratian, eight years before, with which this of Theodosius is now joined in one. Theodosius, after his absolution, passed no day till his death on which he did not bewail afresh this offence, into which he was drawn by surprise, and through the instigation of others, as St. Ambrose remarks.

Theodoret mentions another example of humility and religion which this great emperor showed whilst he was at Milan, which some moderns placed before, and others after his penance. It happened on a great festival, that, having brought his offering to the altar, he remained within the rails of the sanctuary, that is, within the chancel or choir. St. Ambrose asked him if he wanted anything. The Emperor said he stayed to assist at the holy Mysteries, and to communicate. The Bishop sent his archdeacon to him with this message: "My lord, it is lawful for none but the sacred ministers to remain within the sanctuary. Be pleased therefore to go out, and continue standing with the rest. The purple robe makes princes, but not priests." Theodosius answered, that

he stayed not with a design of doing anything against the Church, or out of any affection to distinguish himself from all the rest, but that he thought the custom was the same at Milan as at Constantinople, where his place was in the sanctuary; and, after having thanked the Archbishop for being so kind as to inform him of his duty, he went out of the rails, and took his place among the laity. At his return to Constantinople, on the first great holiday that he went to the great church, he went out of the sanctuary after he had made his offering. The Archbishop Nectarius sent to desire him to come back, and resume the place designed for him. The pious Emperor answered, with a sigh, "Alas! how hard is it for me to learn the difference between the priesthood and the empire! I am encompassed with flatterers, and have found but one man that has set me right, and told me the truth. I know but one true bishop in the world; this is Ambrose." From that time he kept without the rails or chancel, a little above the people, in which he was imitated by succeeding emperors. Theodosius, after staying almost three years in the West, left Valentinian in peaceable possession of that empire, and would carry home no other recompense of his labours and victories than the glory of having restored that prince, and afforded so many nations a disinterested protection. In his return into the East, all the people came out to meet him with extraordinary joy, and his reception in every city on the road was a kind of triumph, especially at Constantinople, where he arrived on the 9th of November, 391; and he appeared more glorious by the marks of love which he received of his subjects than by the victories he had gained over his enemies.

The young Valentinian followed in everything the advice and instructions of St. Ambrose, honouring and loving him with as much ardour as his mother had formerly persecuted him with fury. Never was prince more ready to correct his faults. When he was told that he was too fond of the sports of the circus, he renounced those diversions, except on indispensable occasions. When some said that his passion for hunting diverted his mind from business, he presently ordered all the wild beasts he kept in a park to be killed. It was said by some that he advanced the hour of his meal too early, out of intemperance; he made use of this advice, and became so abstemious, that he fasted very often, and ate but little, even in the magnificent entertainments which he provided for his courtiers. He eased his subjects of many burdens and taxes, and never imposed any new ones, saying, the people were already too much oppressed. Yet Count Arbogastes, general of his forces, came to an open breach with him. This man was a Frank by birth, but had been brought up from his youth in the



Roman army, and was a pagan. By the great power to which he arrived, he assumed so much as to command Valentinian, and dispose of all things at pleasure. The Emperor at length resolved no longer to brook his imperious behaviour, and bear with his insolence. In 392, when they were both together in Gaul, busy in securing the country against the Germans, their misintelligence was carried to the highest pitch. But at length a seeming peace was concluded. The Emperor pressed St. Ambrose to come to him at Vienne in Gaul, to be a witness to their reconciliation, and he was desirous to be baptized by him, being then in the twentieth year of his age. In his impatience to see him, and receive the holy sacrament of regeneration, he used often to say, "Shall I be so happy as to see my Father?" He never had that happiness, being strangled by Arbogastes whilst he was diverting himself in the garden of his palace, on the banks of the Rhone, at Vienne, on the 15th of May, 392. St. Ambrose, who was advanced on his journey as far as the Alps, upon hearing this tragical news, returned to Milan, watering all his steps with his tears. Valentinian's corpse was buried with Gratian's at Milan, and St. Ambrose pronounced his funeral oration, in which he largely proves, that his desire of baptism supplied the want of it, and promises always to remember him in his sacrifices and prayers. Arbogastes placed the imperial diadem on the head of Eugenius, a rhetorician by profession, a man of parts and learning, who had long been in his service, and, from an ignoble condition, had been raised to high undeserved honours. This man was a nominal Christian, but unsettled in religious principles; for he flattered the heathens, and placed great confidence in divinations and auguries. They hastened their march into Italy, and courted St. Ambrose by very obliging letters; but before they arrived at Milan, the holy Bishop had retired to Bologna, where he assisted at the translation of the relics of SS. Vitalis and Agricola. Thence he went to Florence, where he consecrated a church, called afterwards the Ambrosian basilic, like another at Milan which was mentioned above. At Florence, St. Ambrose lived in the house of the most considerable among the citizens, named Decentius, whose infant child happened to die. The mother laid him upon the bed of St. Ambrose while he was abroad. The saint, being returned, laid himself upon the child, in imitation of Eliseus, and by his prayers restored him to life, as Paulinus assures us. Theodosius refused all terms proposed to him by Eugenius's ambassadors, and raised a powerful army to march against the traitors. He prepared himself for war by fasts, prayers, and frequent visiting of churches; and he sent to implore the prayers of St. John of Egypt. That

holy hermit, who had formerly foretold him the defeat of Maximus, sent him an assurance that this enterprise against Eugenius would be more difficult than the former against Maximus had been, yet that he should obtain a complete victory, but should die shortly after. Theodosius, before he set out, among many actions of heroic and public charity, justice, devotion, and piety, by a rescript inserted in the Roman law, pardoned all injuries in word or action that had ever been committed against his person. "For," said he, "if it be by indiscreet levity that any one has spoken against us, we ought not to regard it; if it is by folly, we ought to pity him: if by ill-will, we are very willing to pardon him."

His army was assembled under Timasius, who commanded the Roman legions; Stilico, a Vandal prince who had married Serena, the Emperor's niece; Gainas, general of the Goths, etc. Theodosius joined them in Thrace, marched through Pannonia and Illyricum, and forced the passes of the Alps, which Arbogastes had so fenced and guarded as to look upon them as not only impregnable, but even inaccessible. Yet Arbogastes was not dismayed, and drew up his army in battalia in the spacious plains of Aquileia, at the foot of the Alps. In the first engagement Arbogastes gained the day; and, in a second, the army of Theodosius was upon the point of being broken and dispersed, when, by a fervent prayer, he conjured God to defend the cause of His own divine honour. Soon after, there arose from the Alps an impetuous wind, which put the squadrons of the enemy into strange disorder, drove back their darts and arrows, and beat clouds of dust upon their faces, which deprived many of the use of their sight, and almost of their respiration, which gave Theodosius a complete victory. Theodoret tells us, that the prince, before this second battle, shut himself up one night in a church to pray, and, falling asleep, saw in a vision two men in white, on white horses, who promised him that they would assist him. The one was St. Philip the Apostle, the other St. John the Evangelist. Evagrius and his companions taking leave of St. John in Thebais, that holy man giving them his blessing, said: "Go in peace, my dear children, and know that they hear this day in Alexandria that Theodosius has defeated the tyrant Eugenius. But this prince will not long enjoy the advantage of his victory, and God will ere long withdraw him out of this world." Eugenius, who was seated on a hill near the field of battle, was taken and brought to Theodosius, who reproached him with his crimes and credulity in the promises of heathenish diviners, and commanded him to be beheaded on the 6th of September in 394. Arbogastes, after wandering two days in the mountains, became his own executioner, thrusting two

swords one after another through his body. Theodosius pardoned all the rest of their party ; and never was any prince more moderate in his victory. He knew how to pardon, scarce how to punish ; and he seemed to forget that he had enemies as soon as he had overcome. Being informed that the children of Eugenius and Flavian (general of his Roman forces) had taken sanctuary in the churches of Aquileia, he sent a tribune with an order to save their lives. He took care to have them educated in the Christian religion, left possessions for them, and used them as if they had been of his own family. As this victory was rather God's than his own, his first care was that a solemn thanksgiving should be rendered to Him throughout his whole empire. He wrote particularly to St. Ambrose on that subject. This holy archbishop had returned to Milan as soon as Eugenius was departed thence ; and upon receiving his letter, with the news of his victory, he offered the Holy Sacrifice in thanksgiving, and sent one of his deacons to him with letters, in which, after having expressed his joy for the prosperity of his arms, he represented to him that he ought to give God the whole glory thereof, that piety had contributed more to it than valour, and that his victory was incomplete unless he pardoned those who were involved in the misfortune rather than in the crimes of the tyrant, to which mercy he strongly exhorted him. This he besought in particular in favour of those who had taken refuge in the churches, which the saint doubted not of obtaining from a prince in whose behalf God had wrought prodigies, as He had formerly done in favour of Moses, Josue, Samuel, and David. A little while after, St. Ambrose went to Aquileia to wait upon the Emperor. Their interview was full of joy and tenderness. The Archbishop prostrated himself before this prince, whom piety and the visible protection of God had rendered more venerable than his victories and crowns, and prayed that God would bestow on him all the blessings of heaven, as He had loaded him with all the prosperity of the earth. The Emperor, on his side, cast himself at the feet of the Archbishop, imputing to his prayers the favours which he had received from God, and entreating him to pray for his salvation, as he had done for his success. Then they entertained themselves about the means of restoring religion.

Theodosius soon followed St. Ambrose to Milan, who was gone the day before ; but the prince refrained some time from the Holy Communion, because he had been stained with blood, though shed in a just and necessary war. In the meantime he studied by compunction to purify his soul, and was assaulted by a mortal dropsy, which the fatigues of his expedition and the severity of winter had brought on him. He sent for his children

to Milan, and would receive them in the church on the day on which he received the Communion the first time after his wars. He gave his two sons excellent instructions how to govern well ; then, turning to St. Ambrose, he said, "These are the truths which you have taught me, and which I myself have experienced. It is your part to make them descend in my family, and to instruct, according to your custom, these young emperors whom I leave to you." The Archbishop answered, that he hoped God would give to the children a teachable heart and easy temper, which He had given the father. He granted and confirmed by law a general amnesty and pardon to all rebels who were returned to their duty, by which they were re-established in their estates and dignities. He discharged the people of the augmentations of tribute, desiring that his subjects might enjoy the advantage of a victory to which they had contributed by their prayers and labours. Nothing could be more pathetic than his last exhortations to those senators who still remained idolaters, that they would embrace the faith of Christ, in which he declared it to have been his greatest desire to make all his subjects faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He gave much of his time to his devotions, and to pious conversation with St. Ambrose, in whose arms he expired on the 17th of January in the year 395, of his age the fiftieth. St. Ambrose preached his funeral sermon on the fortieth day after his death, and his body was conveyed to Constantinople, and everywhere received with honours which rather resembled triumphs than funeral solemnities.

In the year 395 St. Ambrose discovered the bodies of the holy martyrs Nazarius and Celsus in a garden near Milan, and translated them into the basilic of the apostles, near the Roman gate. Their blood was gathered up with plaster and linen ; and this was distributed to others as a precious relic. A person possessed with a devil was delivered by St. Ambrose at these relics, before which the devil tormented him till the saint bade him hold his peace. One who had counterfeited grants for the office of a tribune, the saint delivered to Satan ; and even before the Bishop had done speaking, the unclean spirit seized on him, and began to tear him. "At which," saith the secretary Paulinus, "we were all much terrified." He adds : "We saw in those days many dispossessed at his command, and by the laying on of his hands." He also mentions sick persons who were cured by his prayers. The reputation of St. Ambrose reached the most distant countries, and drew to Milan two Persians of the greatest authority and wisdom in that nation, who came thither furnished with many questions to make trial of his wisdom. They discoursed with him by the help of an interpreter for a whole day, and departed full of admiration.

A little before our saint's death, Fritigil, Queen of the Marcomanni, having heard of the fame of his sanctity from a certain Christian that came from Italy, was moved by it to believe in Jesus Christ, and sent ambassadors to him with presents for the Church of Milan, entreating St. Ambrose to instruct her by writing in what she was to believe. He sent her an excellent letter in form of a catechism, which is now lost. The Queen having received it, persuaded the King to submit himself and his people to the Romans, and went herself to Milan, but, to her great affliction, did not find St. Ambrose alive.

Our holy bishop made the administration of the sacrament of penance a chief part of his pastoral care. Paulinus writes thus of him : "Whenever any person confessed their sins to him in order to receive penance, he shed such an abundance of tears as to make the penitent also to weep. The sins which were confessed to him he never disclosed to any one, only interceded with God." In his writings he explains in a great detail all the parts and duties of penance. Speaking of the obligation of confessing sins, he says : "If thou wilt be justified, confess thy crime. For an humble confession loosens the bonds of sins." And again : "Why are you ashamed to do this in the Church, where it ought only to be an object of shame not to confess our faults, seeing we are all sinners ; where he is most commendable who is most humble, and he is the most just who is lowest in his own eyes?" Against the Novatian heresy St. Ambrose wrote his two books of Penance. In the first he shows that absolution is to be given to penitents for all sins, however grievous, but, toward the end, observes that their penitence must be condign and sincere. "If any one," says he, "be guilty of *secret* sins, and does penance for them very heartily, in obedience to the commands of Jesus Christ, how shall he receive the reward, unless he be restored to the communion of the Church ? I would have the guilty hope for the pardon of his sins ; yet he should beg it with tears, sighs, and the lamentations of all the people. I would have him pray for absolution ; and when it is twice or thrice delayed, let him believe that this delay proceeds from the want of importunity in his prayers. Let him redouble his weeping ; let him render himself more worthy of pity ; and then let him return, let him throw himself at the feet of the faithful, let him embrace them, kiss them, bathe them with his tears ; and let him not forsake them, that so our Lord may say to him, *Many sins are forgiven him because he loved much.* I have known some persons who, in their penance, have disfigured their face with much weeping, who have hollowed their cheeks with continual tears, who have prostrated themselves on the ground to be trod under

foot, who, by their continual fasting, have rendered their countenances so pale and disfigured, that they carried in a living body the very image of death." In the second book, after answering some objections of the Novatians, he shows that penance is false and fruitless without a total change of heart and manners, in which its very essence consists. "There are others," says he, "who may be immediately restored to communion. These do not so much desire to be loosed, as to bind the priest ; for they do not unburden their own conscience, but burden that of the priest, who is commanded not to give holy things to dogs ; that is, not easily to admit impure souls to communion. I have found more persons who have preserved the innocence of their baptism, than who have done penance as they should do after they have lost it. They must renounce the world, and allow less time for sleep than nature requires ; they must break their sleep with groaning and sighing, and employ part of that time in prayers ; they must live in such a manner as to be dead to the use of this life : let such men deny themselves, and change themselves wholly," etc. St. Ambrose exhorts the faithful to very frequent Communion, because the Holy Eucharist is our spiritual bread and daily nourishment, not a poison. In his book, "On the Mysteries," composed in 387, he instructs the new-baptized, expounding the ceremonies of baptism and confirmation, and the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, which he does in the clearest terms. That this book, "On the Mysteries," is the undoubted work of our holy doctor, is manifest, not only from the unanimous consent of authors, but also from the first part of this book itself. After having explained the ancient types of the Eucharist, as the sacrifice of Melchisedech, the manna, and the water flowing out of the rock, he adds : "You will say perhaps I see something else ; how can I be sure that I receive the body of Christ ? Prove that it is not what hath been formed by nature, but what the benediction hath consecrated, and that the benediction is more powerful than nature, because it changes even nature itself." He urges the example of the rod of Moses changed into a serpent, and several other miracles ; and, lastly, the Incarnation, which mystery he compares to that of the Eucharist. "A virgin," says he, "brought forth. This is contrary to the order of nature. The body which we consecrate came forth of a virgin. Why do you seek for the order of nature in the body of Jesus Christ, since Jesus Christ was born of a virgin against the order of nature ? Jesus Christ had real flesh, which was fastened to the cross and laid in the sepulchre. So the Eucharist is the true sacrament of this flesh. Christ Himself assures us of it. *This is*, says He, *My body*. Before the benediction of these heavenly words, it is of

another nature ; after the consecration, it is the body. If man's benediction has been capable of changing the nature of things, what shall we say of the divine consecration, wherein the very words of our Saviour Himself operate ? The word of Jesus Christ, which could make that out of nothing which was not, can it not change that which is into what it was not ?" etc. The saint recommends to the new believers to keep the Mysteries secret. St. Austin, who was baptized by St. Ambrose, in 387, must have been present at these discourses which St. Ambrose then made to the Neophytes. St. Ambrose was particularly careful in the choice of his clergy. This appears from several instances which the saint himself relates. One of his friends he would never be prevailed upon to admit among the clergy, on account of some levity in his carriage. Another, who was one of the clergy, he forbade ever to walk before him on a like account ; for he was persuaded that such faults proceed from an irregularity of the mind. He forbids the clergy to intermeddle with business or traffic, wishing them to be contented with their small patrimony, or, if they have none, with their salaries. In order to regulate the manners of the clergy, that they might be the light of the world, he composed in 386 three books "On the Offices of the Ministers," in which, however, he often descends to general precepts of morality adapted to Christians of all denominations.

One of St. Ambrose's last actions was the ordination of St. Honoratus, Bishop of Vercelli. A few days before he fell sick, he foretold his death, but said he should live till Easter. Before he took his bed, he continued his usual studies, and expounded the forty-third Psalm. Whilst he dictated this exposition, Paulinus, who was his amanuensis, looking up, saw a flame in the form of a small shield covering his head, and by degrees creeping into his mouth, upon which his face became white as snow, though soon after it returned to its usual complexion. "I was so affrighted thereat," says Paulinus, "that I remained without motion, and could not write what he dictated till the vision was over. He was then repeating a passage of Scripture which I well remember ; and on that day he left off both writing and reading, so that he could not finish the Psalm." We have this exposition of St. Ambrose upon the forty-third Psalm, which ends at the twenty-fifth verse, and nothing is said upon the two last. He must have been already sick ; for Paulinus assures us, that when he was well he never spared the pains of writing his books with his own hand. After having ordained a bishop of Pavia, he was taken so ill that he kept his bed a long time. Upon this news, Count Stilico, the guardian and prime minister of Honorius, who governed the

Western Empire, was much troubled, and said publicly, "The day that this great man dies, destruction hangs over Italy." And therefore, sending for as many of the nobility and magistrates of the city as he knew had the greatest interest and sway with the Bishop, he persuaded them to go to him, and by all means beg of God a longer life. They went, and standing about his bed with tears, entreated him to intercede with Heaven for his own life for the sake of others, to whom he answered, "I have not so behaved myself among you that I should be ashamed to live longer; nor am I afraid to die, because we have a good Master." He lay in a gallery, at the end whereof were four deacons, discoursing together who might succeed him. They spoke so low that they could hardly hear each other. Yet when they named Simplician, the Bishop, though at a distance, cried out three times, "He is old, but good." At which they were so surprised that they hastened out of the place. As St. Ambrose was praying in the same place, he beheld Jesus Christ coming toward him with a smiling countenance. This he told Bassianus, Bishop of Lodi, who was praying with him, and from him Paulinus learned it. The saint died a few days after. The day on which he expired he lay with his hands extended in form of a cross for several hours, moving his lips in constant prayer, though it could not be understood what he said. St. Honoratus, Bishop of Vercelli, was there, and being gone into an upper chamber to take a little rest, heard a voice crying three times to him: "Arise, and make haste; for he is going to depart." He went down, and gave him the body of our Lord, which the saint had no sooner swallowed than he gave up the ghost. St. Ambrose died about midnight before Holy Saturday, the 4th of April, in 397; he was about fifty-seven years old, and had been Bishop twenty-two years and four months. The common suffrage of all antiquity has ranked him among the four great doctors of the Latin Church. His feast is kept on the 7th of December, the day on which he was ordained Bishop; and he is honoured on the same not only in the Western calendars, but also in those of the Oriental Church. The body of St. Ambrose reposes in a vault under the high altar in the Ambrosian basilic at Milan; it was first interred near the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius. God was pleased to honour him by manifesting that through his intercession he protected the State against the idolaters. Radagaisus, a king of the Goths, a pagan, threatened the destruction of Christianity, and the ruin of the Roman Empire, which he invaded with an army, it is said, of two hundred thousand, others say, four hundred thousand men, about the year 405. He had vowed to sacrifice all the Romans to his gods; and he seems to



have been the last instrument which the devil raised to attempt to re-establish idolatry in the empire. The pagans among the Romans seemed disposed to rebel, and openly imputed these calamities to the establishment of Christianity. But the Romans, commanded by Stilico, obtained a complete victory, without any loss of men, and Radagaisus was taken prisoner, with his two sons, and put to death. Tillemont gives the following relation: "Radagaisus besieged Florence. This city was reduced to the utmost straits, when St. Ambrose, who had once retired thither (and who had now been dead nine years), appeared to a person of the house where he had lodged, and promised him that the city should be delivered from the enemy on the next day. The man told it to the inhabitants, who took courage and resumed the hopes which they had quite lost; and on the next day came Stilico with his army. Paulinus, who relates this, learned it from a lady who lived at Florence." And this proves what St. Paulinus, the Bishop of Nola, says: "that God granted the preservation of the Romans to the prayers of St. Peter, St. Paul, and the other martyrs and confessors who were honoured by the Church throughout the empire." Though the forces of the Emperor Honorius were too weak to oppose this torrent, at their approach Radagaisus was struck with a sudden panic, and fled, and his scattered troops were taken, and sold like droves of cattle.

St. Ambrose joined together in the conduct of his life a wonderful generosity and inflexibility, where the divine law was concerned, with all possible prudence and moderation; yet in all his actions tempered the boldness and authority of a bishop with an air of sweetness and charity. By this he gained all hearts, and his inflexible severity in points of duty appeared amiable and mild, whilst everyone saw that it proceeded wholly from the most tender charity. St. Austin tells us that in his first interview, when he was a stranger to St. Ambrose, and enslaved to the world and his passions, he was won by him, because he saw in him a good eye, and a kind countenance, the index of his benevolent heart. "I saw a man affectionate and kind to me," says he. When a friend shows, by his words and behaviour, that he has sincerely and only our interest at heart, this opens all the avenues of our mind, and strengthens and enforces his admonitions, so that they never fail to make deep impressions. They who speak affectionately, and from their hearts, speak powerfully to the hearts of others. This is the property of true charity, the most essential qualification of a minister of Christ, who is dead to the world and himself, and seeks no interest but that of Christ and his neighbour in the salvation of souls.

## SAINT ATHANASIUS,

PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.

A.D. 373.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN begins with these words his panegyric of this glorious saint and champion of the faith: "When I praise Athanasius virtue itself is my theme, for I name every virtue as often as I mention him, who was possessed of all virtues. He was the true pillar of the Church. His life and conduct were the rule of bishops, and his doctrine the rule of the orthodox faith." St. Athanasius was a native of Alexandria, and seems to have been born about the year 296. His parents, who were Christians, and remarkable for their virtue, were solicitous to procure him the best education. After he had learned grammar and the first elements of the sciences, St. Alexander, before he was raised to the episcopal chair of that city, was much delighted with the virtuous deportment of the youth, and with the pregnancy of his wit; and took upon himself the direction of his studies, brought him up under his own eye, always made him eat with him, and employed him as his secretary. Athanasius copied diligently the virtues of his master, imbibed his maxims of piety and holy zeal, was directed by him in the plan and method of his studies, and received from him the greatest assistance in the pursuit of them. By writing under so great a master, he acquired the most elegant, easy, and methodical manner of composition. Profane sciences he only learned as far as they were necessary, or might be rendered subservient to those that are more sublime and important; but from their aid he contracted an elegant, clear, methodical, and masterly style, and was qualified to enter the lists in defence of our holy faith with the greatest advantage. However, the sacred studies of religion and virtue he made the serious employment of his whole life; and how much he excelled in them the sequel of his history and perusal of his works show. From his easy and ready manner of quoting the Holy Scriptures, one

would imagine he knew them by heart ; at least, by the assiduous meditation and study of those divine oracles he had filled his heart with the spirit of the most perfect piety, and his mind with the true science of the profound mysteries which our divine religion contains. But in his study of the sacred writings the tradition of the Church was his guide, which he diligently sought in the comments of the ancient doctors, as he testifies. In another place he declares that he had learned it from holy inspired masters, and martyrs for the divinity of Christ. That he might neglect no branch of ecclesiastical learning, he applied himself diligently to the study of the canons of the Church, in which no one was more perfectly versed ; nor was he a stranger to the civil law, as appears from his works, on which account Sulpicius Severus styles him a lawyer.

Achillas, who had succeeded St. Peter in the patriarchal See of Alexandria, dying in 313, St. Alexander was promoted to that dignity. The desire of grounding himself in the most perfect practice of virtue drew St. Athanasius into the deserts to the great St. Anthony, about the year 315, with whom he made a considerable stay, serving him in the quality of a disciple, and regarding it as an honour to pour water on his hands when he washed them. When he had by his retreat prepared himself for the ministry of the altar, he returned to the city, and having passed through the inferior degrees of ecclesiastical orders, was ordained deacon about the year 319. St. Alexander was so much taken with his prudence, virtue, and learning, that he desired to have him always with him, and governed his flock by his advice. He stood much in need of such a second in defending his Church against the calumnies and intrigues of the schismatics and heretics. The holy Patriarch St. Peter had, at the intercession of the martyrs and confessors, dispensed with the rigour of the canons in behalf of certain persons, who through frailty had fallen into idolatry during the persecution, and upon their repentance had received them again to communion. Meletius, Bishop of Lycos, in Thebais, unjustly took offence at this lenity, and on that pretence formed a schism over all Egypt against St. Peter and his successors. Arius, a Lybian by birth, and a deacon, who for seditious practices was expelled the Church by his bishop, St. Peter, fell in with Meletius. St. Peter was so well acquainted with his turbulent spirit, that no entreaties could move him, even when he was going to martyrdom, to receive him into the communion of the Church. However, his successor, Achillas, upon his submission and repentance, not only admitted him into his communion, but also ordained him priest, and entrusted him with the Church of Baucalis, one of the parishes

of the city. Achillas was succeeded by St. Alexander, whose promotion Arius resented as an injury done to himself, being in his own opinion the more worthy ; and some time after impudently and blasphemously asserted that Christ was not God, but a mere creature, though formed before all other created beings (but not from eternity), and of a nature superior in perfection to all other creatures. St. Alexander long endeavoured by mildness to reclaim the heresiarch, but was compelled by his obstinacy to cut him off from the communion of the Church, in a synod of all the bishops under his jurisdiction, held at Alexandria. Arius fled first into Palestine, and thence to Nicomedia, where he had already gained by letters the confidence of Eusebius, the crafty bishop of that city. In 319, St. Alexander sent an account of his proceedings against Arius in a circular letter directed to all the bishops of the Church, signed by St. Athanasius and many others. In 325, he took the holy deacon with him to the Council of Nice, who there distinguished himself by the extraordinary zeal and learning with which he encountered not only Arius, but also Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, and Maris, the principal protectors of that heresiarch ; and he had a great share in the disputations and decisions of that venerable assembly, as Theodoret, Sozomen, and St. Gregory Nazianzen testify.

Five months after this great council, St. Alexander, lying on his death-bed, by a heavenly inspiration recommended to his clergy and people the choice of Athanasius for his successor, thrice repeating his name ; and when he was found to be absent, he cried out, " Athanasius, you think to escape, but you are mistaken." Sozomen says he had absconded for fear of being chosen. In consequence of this recommendation, the bishops of all Egypt assembled at Alexandria, and finding the people and clergy unanimous in their choice of Athanasius for Patriarch, they confirmed the election about the middle of the year 326 ; for St. Cyril testifies that he held that chair forty-six years. He seems then to have been about thirty years of age. He ordained Frumentius Bishop of the Æthiopians, and made the visitation of the churches under his jurisdiction throughout all Egypt. The Meletians continued, after the death of their author, to hold private assemblies, ordain new bishops by their own authority, everywhere to divide the people, and to fill Egypt with factions and schisms. In vain did St. Athanasius employ all the power which his authority put into his hands to bring them back to the unity of the Church. The severity of their morals gained them a reputation among the people, and their opposition to the Catholics moved the Arians to court their friendship. Though these schismatics were in the

beginning orthodox in faith, and the first and most violent opposers of Arius, yet they soon after joined his partisans in calumniating and impugning St. Athanasius, for which purpose they entered into a solemn league of iniquity together. For St. Athanasius observes that as Herod and Pontius Pilate forgot their enmity to agree in persecuting Christ, so the Meletians and Arians dissembled their private animosities to enter into a mutual confederacy and cabal against the truth, which is the spirit of all sectaries, who, though divided in every other thing, unite in persecuting the truth and opposing the Church.

Arius being recalled from banishment, into which he had been sent by the Emperor, St. Athanasius refused him entrance into the Church, whereupon he retired to his friends in Palestine and the neighbouring Eastern provinces, at whose entreaty Constantine urged St. Athanasius to admit him to his communion. The intrepid Patriarch answered the Emperor, that the Catholic Church could hold no communion with heresy that so impudently attacked the divinity of Jesus Christ. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis, after three years' banishment, seeing Arius already released from his exile, wrote a letter to the Emperor, which is extant in Socrates and Sozomen, artfully declaring that they all agreed in faith, that they received the word consubstantial, having now fully examined its meaning, and that they entirely gave themselves up to peace ; but could not anathematize Arius, whom, by a long converse with him, and both by word and writing, they had found not to be guilty of what had been laid to his charge, and who had already met with a favourable reception from his imperial majesty. Hereupon the sentence of their banishment was reversed, and they were both permitted to return to their respective sees. This Eusebius had before ambitiously procured his translation from the See of Berytus to that of Nicomedia, which being at that time the residence of the Eastern emperors, gave him a fair opportunity of ingratiating himself with the great ministers of state, and thereby of rendering himself considerable for power and interest at court. He neither wanted parts nor learning, was of a subtle and daring temper, a deep dissembler, and the most artful of men, and on these accounts a proper instrument of the devil to be the contriver of the calumnies and persecutions against our saint and the Catholic Church. He was no sooner come back to Nicomedia, than he began to set his engines at work. He first wrote a civil letter to St. Athanasius, wherein he endeavoured to justify Arius. But neither his own flattering words, nor the Emperor's threats, which he procured, prevailing, he wrote to the Meletians, that the time

was now come to put their designs in execution, and impeach Athanasius. It was some time before they could agree what they should lay to his charge. At length they sent three of their schismatical bishops, Isio, Eudæmon, and Callinicus, to Nicomedia, who undertook to accuse him to the Emperor of having exacted linen for the use of his church, and imposed it as a tribute upon the people ; also of sending a purse of gold to one Philumenus, who was plotting to usurp the empire. Athanasius being summoned to appear before Constantine, his cause was heard in his palace of Psammathia, situated in the suburbs of Nicomedia. The Emperor, having examined the accusations against him, was convinced of his innocence, acquitted him of what had been alleged against him, and sent him back with a letter to the faithful of Alexandria, wherein he calls him a man of God, and a most venerable person.

Eusebius, though baffled for the present, did not despair of compassing his ends ; and, in the meantime, contrived the banishment of St. Eustathius, the most zealous and holy Patriarch of Antioch. And soon after, new allegations were laid against Athanasius, charging him with the murder of Arsenius, a Melesian bishop, and with other crimes. Constantine appeared shocked at the accusation of the murder, and sent an order to St. Athanasius to clear himself in a council which was to be held at Cæsarea, in Palestine, whereof Eusebius, one of the Arian party, was bishop. The saint, disliking it, no doubt, on this account, and justly apprehensive he should not have liberty allowed him for his defence, did not appear. This his enemies represented to Constantine as the effect of pride and stubbornness, who, being exasperated by these suggestions, began to entertain an ill opinion of him, and appointed another council to assemble at Tyre, where he commanded Athanasius at his peril to appear. The council met there in August, 335, consisting of sixty bishops, chiefly Arians. St. Athanasius, after some delay, came thither, attended with a considerable number of bishops of his own province, and, among these, the illustrious confessors, Paphnutius and Potamon. All the chiefs of the Arian sect were present : the two Eusebiuses, Flacillus, the intruded Bishop of Antioch, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Narcissus of Neronias, Theodorus of Heraclea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Ursacius of Syngidon, Valens of Mursa, and George of Laodicea. The just exception which St. Athanasius made against such judges who had declared themselves his enemies was tyrannically overruled, and, on his entering the council, they, instead of allowing him to take his place among them, obliged him to stand as a criminal at the bar before his

judges. St. Potamon could not forbear tears upon the occasion ; and, addressing himself to Eusebius of Cæsarea, who had been a prisoner with him for the faith in the late persecution, cried out, "What, Eusebius, are you sitting on the bench, and doth Athanasius stand arraigned? Who can bear this with patience? Tell me; were not you in prison with me during the persecution? As for my part, I lost an eye in it, but I see you are whole and sound. How came you to escape so well?" By which words he insinuated a suspicion of public fame, that Eusebius had been guilty of some unlawful compliance. The rest of the Egyptian bishops persisted in refusing to allow those to be judges of their patriarch who were his professed enemies ; but their remonstrances were not regarded.

The first article of accusation against the saint was, that Macarius, his deputy, had been guilty of sacrilege, in breaking the chalice of one Ischyrras, a supposed priest, whilst he was officiating at the altar. This, which had been already proved to be mere calumny, was farther confuted by deputies sent from Tyre into Egypt to examine into the state of the affair, whereby it appeared that the whole charge was groundless and malicious, and that Ischyrras, who at length was reconciled to St. Athanasius, had been set on by certain bishops of the Meletian faction. He was next accused of having ravished a virgin consecrated to God, and a woman was accordingly prevailed with to own and attest the fact in open council. Whereupon Timothy, one of the saint's clergy, turning to her, "Woman," said he, "did I ever lodge at your house ; did I ever, as you pretend, offer violence to you?" "Yes," said she, "you are the very person I accuse ;" adding, at large, the circumstances of time and place. The imposture thus plainly discovering itself, put the contrivers of it so much out of countenance, that they drove her immediately out of the assembly. St. Athanasius indeed insisted on her staying, and being obliged to declare who it was that had suborned her ; but this was overruled by his enemies, alleging that they had more important crimes to charge him with, and such as it was impossible to elude by any artifices whatsoever. They proceeded next to the affair of Arsenius, an old Meletian bishop, whom they accused St. Athanasius of having murdered. To support this charge, they produced in court a dried hand, supposed to be the hand of Arsenius, which, as they alleged, the Patriarch had ordered to be cut off, to be employed in magical operations. The truth was : Arsenius, styled by his party Bishop of Hypsele, had fallen into some irregularity, and had absconded. St. Athanasius had first procured certificates from many persons that he was still living ; and prevailed with him afterward, through the interest of friends, to come privately to Tyre, to serve

St. Athanasius on this occasion. The saint, therefore, asked if any of the bishops present knew Arsenius ; several answering they did, he then made him appear before the whole assembly with both his hands. Thus was the wicked purpose of his adversaries defeated, no less to the pleasure and satisfaction of the innocent, than to the shame and confusion of the guilty. Arsenius soon after made his peace with St. Athanasius, and with the whole Catholic Church, as did also John, the most famous of the Meletian bishops. The Arians called the saint a magician, and one that imposed upon their senses by the black art ; and would have torn him to pieces had not the imperial governor interposed and rescued him out of their hands, who for farther security sent him on board a ship that sailed the same night. Having thus escaped their fury, he went soon after for Constantinople. All these particulars are related by St. Athanasius, in his Apology ; also by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Though the saint had been convicted of no crime, the Arian bishops pronounced against him a sentence of deposition, forbidding him to reside at Alexandria, lest his presence should excite new disorders there, repeating in their sentence the calumnies which had been so fully refuted.

Constantine, who had refused to see or give audience to our saint on his arrival at Constantinople, whom he looked upon as justly condemned by a council, sent an order to the bishops of Tyre to adjourn to Jerusalem, for the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he had caused to be built there. Arius came thither at this time to the council, with a letter from the Emperor, and a profession of faith which he had presented to him, and which is extant in Socrates. In it the subtle heretic professes his belief in Christ, "as begotten before all worlds : God, the Word, by whom all things were made," etc. But neither the word consubstantial, nor anything equivalent to it, was there. The heresiarch had assured the Emperor that he received the Council of Nice, who was thus imposed upon by his hypocrisy ; but he ordered the bishops to examine his profession of faith. The Eusebians readily embraced the opportunity which they had long waited for, declared Arius orthodox, and admitted him to the communion. St. Athanasius, in the meantime, having requested of the Emperor, who had refused him audience, that his pretended judges might be obliged to confront him ; and that he might be allowed the liberty to exhibit his complaints against them, Constantine sent them an order to come to Constantinople to give an account of their transactions at Tyre. But only six, and these the most artful of the number, obeyed the summons, namely,



Eusebius, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Ursacius, and Valens. These agreed to attack St. Athanasius with a fresh accusation, as they did, charging him with having threatened to hinder the yearly transportation of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople. This accusation, though protested against by the saint as absolutely false and to the last degree improbable, was nevertheless believed by Constantine, who expressed his resentment at it, and banished him, in consequence, to Triers, then the chief city of the Belgic Gaul.

The holy man arrived there in the beginning of the year 336, and was received with the greatest respect by St. Maximinus, bishop of the place, and by Constantine the younger, who commanded there for his father. St. Antony and the people of Alexandria wrote to the Emperor in favour of their pastor; but he answered that he could not despise the judgment of a council. The saint had the satisfaction to be informed that his Church at Alexandria constantly refused to admit Arius. The year after, on Whitsunday, the 12th of May, Constantine departed this life, being sixty-three years and almost three months old, whilst he yet wore the Neophyte's white garment after his baptism. His historian testifies with what ardour the people offered up their prayers to God for his soul. He was buried in the porch of the Church of the Twelve Apostles, which he had founded in Constantinople for the burying place of the emperors and patriarchs, though he had built that of St. Irene for the great church or cathedral. He would be buried in that holy place, according to Eusebius, "that he might deserve to enjoy the benefit of the mystical sacrifice, and the communion of devout prayers." Constantine's three sons divided the empire, as their father's will directed. Constantine, the eldest, had Britain, Spain, Gaul, and all that lies on this side the Alps; Constantius, the second son, Thrace, Asia, Egypt, and the East; Constans, the youngest, had Italy, Africa, Greece, and Illyricum. Constantine the younger restored St. Athanasius to his see, sending with him a letter filled with high commendations of the holy prelate, and expressions of great respect for his sanctity, and of indignation against his adversaries. The saint passed through Syria, and was received by his flock with a joy and pomp equal to the triumph of an emperor.

The city of Alexandria was situate within the jurisdiction of Constantius, whom the Arians had gained over to their party without much difficulty. These heretics accused St. Athanasius afresh to the three emperors for raising tumults and seditions upon his return, for committing violence and murder, and selling, for his own private use, the corn which Constantine had destined for the

support of widows and ecclesiastics in those countries where corn did not grow ; but the attestations of the bishops who had received it in Lybia justified him, and covered his accusers with confusion. Constantine and Constans sent away their deputies with disgrace ; but Constantius, being met at Antioch by Eusebius of Nicomedia and others of his party, was easily persuaded into the belief of this last head of the accusation, and prevailed upon to grant them leave to choose a new bishop of Alexandria. They lost no time, but, assembling at Antioch, named one Pistus to that see, an Egyptian priest of their sect, who, together with the bishop that ordained him, had been condemned by St. Alexander and by the Council of Nice ; but Pope Julius rejected his communion, and all other Catholic churches pronounced anathemas against him ; nor was he ever able to get possession of the patriarchal chair. St. Athanasius called a council of about a hundred bishops at Alexandria to defend the Catholic faith, after which he repaired to Rome to Pope Julius, to whom this council sent letters and deputies. Here the Pope acquitted him in a council of fifty bishops, held in 341, and confirmed him in his see ; but he was obliged to continue at Rome three years, during which the Arians carried on everything by violence in the East. The same year a council met at Antioch to the dedication of the great church called the Golden Church, and framed twenty-five canons of discipline. After the departure of the orthodox prelates, the Arians framed a canon levelled against St. Athanasius, that if a bishop who had been deposed in a council, whether justly or unjustly, should return to his church without the authority of a greater council than that which had deposed him, he should never hope to be re-established, nor have his cause admitted to a hearing. They then named Gregory, a Cappadocian, and placed him by force of arms in the See of Alexandria in 341. The Emperor Constans, in 345, invited St. Athanasius to Milan, and, by earnest letters, obliged his brother Constantius to join with him in assembling a general council of the East and West at Sardica, in Illyricum. It met in May, 347, and consisted of three hundred bishops of the West and seventy-six of the East, according to Socrates and Sozomen ; but, according to St. Athanasius, only of one hundred and seventy, besides the Eusebians, which agrees nearly with Theodoret, who reckons them in all two hundred and fifty. They were collected out of thirty-five provinces, besides the Orientals. This is reputed a general council, and is proved such by Natalis Alexander, though commonly looked upon only as an appendix to that of Nice. St. Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepas of Gaza, were acquitted. They and some

others out of the Eastern Empire were present. But the Arian Orientals made a body apart, being fourscore in number, who, having formed several assemblies in certain places by the way, on their arrival at Sardica refused, as they had agreed before they came, to join the other prelates, alleging the presence of Athanasius and other such frivolous pretences, and at length, upon an intimation of the threats of the synod if they did not appear, and if the Eusebians did not justify themselves of the matters laid to their charge, they all fled by night, and held a pretended council at Philippopolis, as St. Hilary, in his fragments, and Socrates testify. Dr. Cave alleges that they dated their acts at Sardica ; but this they did only to usurp the venerable name of that synod, for at the same time they quote the synodal epistle of the prelates who remained at Sardica, before the date of which epistle all historians testify that they had left that city. The true council excommunicated the chiefs of the Eusebians, with Gregory the Cappadocian, forbidding all Catholic bishops to hold communication with them. This council sent two deputies to Constantius to press the execution of its decrees. The Emperor Constans wrote to him also, both before and after the council, to acquaint him that, unless he restored Athanasius to his see, and punished his calumniators, he would do it by force of arms. Gregory the Cappadocian, who had, with the Arian governors, exercised a most bloody persecution against the Catholics, and, among others, had caused to be beaten to death the holy confessor St. Potamon, dying four months after the Council of Sardica, facilitated our saint's return to Alexandria, and deprived the Emperor of all pretexts for hindering or delaying it. Constantius had also upon his hands an unsuccessful war against the Persians, and dreaded the threats of a civil war from his brother. Therefore he wrote thrice to the holy prelate, entreating him to hasten his return to Alexandria. St. Athanasius, at the request of Constans, went first to him, then residing in Gaul, and probably at Milan, and thence to Rome to take leave of Pope Julius and his Church. He took Antioch on his way home, where he found Constantius, who treated him with great courtesy, and only desired that he would allow the Arians one church in Alexandria. The saint answered that he hoped that, in that case, the same favour might be granted to the Catholics at Antioch who adhered to Eustathius ; but this not being relished by the Arians, Constantius insisted no longer on that point, but recommended Athanasius in very strong terms to his governors in Egypt. In the meantime the zealous and pious Emperor Constans was treacherously slain by Magnentius, in Gaul, in January, 350. Nevertheless, Con-

stantius restored Athanasius, who immediately assembled a council at Alexandria, and confirmed the decrees of that of Sardica. St. Maximus did the same in a numerous synod at Jerusalem. Many Arian bishops on this occasion retracted their calumnies against the holy man, and also their heresy, among whom were Ursacius and Valens ; but they soon returned to the vomit.

Magnentius usurped the empire in Italy, Gaul, and Africa, and Vetrannio in Pannonia. Constantius marched into the West against them. He made himself master of Vetrannio's person by a stratagem, and his army defeated Magnentius, near Mursa, in Pannonia, in 351, and that tyrant fell soon after, by his own sword. Whilst Constantius resided at Sirmium, in 351, a council was held in that city, consisting chiefly of Oriental bishops, most of them Arians. Photinus, bishop of that see, who renewed the heresy of Sabellius, and affirmed Christ to be no more than a mere man, having been already condemned by two councils at Milan, was here excommunicated, deposed, and banished by the Emperor. The profession of faith drawn up in this synod is commonly esteemed orthodox, and called the first confession of Sirmium. The Arians had never ceased to prepossess the credulous Emperor against Athanasius, whose active zeal was their terror ; and that prince was no sooner at liberty, by seeing the whole empire in his own hands, than he began again to persecute him. He procured him to be condemned by certain Arian bishops at Arles in 353, and again at Milan in 355, where he declared himself his accuser, and banished the Catholic bishops who refused to subscribe his condemnation, as SS. Eusebius of Vercelli, Dionysius of Milan, Paulinus of Triers, etc. He sent a chamberlain to obtain of Pope Liberius the confirmation of this unjust sentence ; but he rejected the proposal with indignation, though enforced with presents and threats. Liberius not only refused the presents which were brought him, but, when the messenger sought means to deposit them, as an offering in St. Peter's Church, unknown to the Pope, he threw them out of doors. Constantius hereupon sent for him under a strict guard to Milan, where, in a conference, recorded by Theodoret, he boldly told Constantius that Athanasius had been acquitted at Sardica, and his enemies proved calumniators and impostors, and that it was unjust to condemn a person who could not be legally convicted of any crime. The Emperor was reduced to silence on every article ; but being the more out of patience, ordered him, unless he complied within three days, to go into banishment to Berea, in Thrace. He sent him, indeed, five hundred pieces of gold to bear his charges, but Liberius refused them, saying, he might bestow them on his flatterers, as he did

also a like present from the Empress, bidding the messenger learn to believe in Christ, and not to persecute the Church of God. After the three days were expired, he departed into exile, in 356. Constantius, going to Rome to celebrate the twentieth year of his reign, in 357, the ladies joined in a petition to him that he would restore Liberius, who had been then two years in banishment. He assented, upon condition that he should comply with the bishops then at court. About this time Liberius began to sink under the hardships of his exile, and his resolution was shaken by the continual solicitations of Demophilus, the Arian bishop of Beroëa, and of Fortunatian, the temporizing Bishop of Aquileia. He was so far softened by listening to flatteries and suggestions, to which he ought to have stopped his ears with horror, that he yielded to the snare laid for him, to the great scandal of the Church. He subscribed the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and a confession or creed, which had been framed by the Arians at Sirmium, though their heresy was not expressed in it; and he wrote to the Arian bishops of the East, that he had received the true Catholic faith which many bishops had approved at Sirmium. The fall of so great a prelate, and so illustrious a confessor, is a terrifying example of human weakness, which no one can call to mind without trembling for himself. St. Peter fell by a presumptuous confidence in his own strength and resolution, that we may learn that every one stands only by humility. Liberius, however, speedily imitated the repentance of the prince of the apostles. And he no sooner had recovered his see, than he again loudly declared himself the patron of justice and truth; and, when the Council of Rimini was betrayed into a prevarication, which was construed in favour of Arianism, Liberius vigorously opposed the danger, and by his strenuous active zeal, averted the desolation with which it threatened many churches, as Theodoret testifies.

Constantius, not content to have banished the bishops who favoured Athanasius, also threatened and punished all the officers and magistrates who refused to join in communion with the Arians. Whilst his presence in the West filled it with confusion and acts of tyranny, St. Athanasius was at Alexandria, offering up to God most fervent prayers for the defence of the faith. Constantius next turned all his rage against him and against the city of Alexandria, sending orders to Syrianus, the duke, that is, general of the troops of Egypt, to persecute the Archbishop and his clergy. He likewise despatched two notaries to see his orders executed. They endeavoured to oblige the saint to leave the city. He answered, that he had returned to his see, and had resided there

till that time by the Emperor's express order ; and therefore could not leave it without a command of equal authority (which they owned was not in their power to produce), or unless Syrianus, the duke, or Maximus, the prefect or governor, would give him such an order in writing, which neither of them would do. Syrianus, convinced of the justice of his plea, promised to give neither him nor the public assemblies of his people any farther disturbance without express injunction from the Emperor to that effect. Twenty-three days after this solemn promise, confirmed by oath, the faithful were assembled at the Church of St. Theonas, where they passed the night in prayer, on account of a festival to be celebrated the next day. Syrianus, conducted by the Arians, surrounded the church at midnight, with above five hundred soldiers, who having forced open the doors, committed the greatest disorders. The Patriarch, however, kept his chair ; and, being determined not to desert his flock in their distress, ordered a deacon to sing the 136th Psalm, and the people to repeat alternately, *For His mercy endureth for ever*. After this, he directed them to depart and make the best of their way to their own houses, protesting that he would be the last that left that place. Accordingly, when the greatest part of the people were gone out, and the rest were following, the clergy and monks that were left forced the Patriarch out along with them, whom (though almost stifled to death) they conveyed safe through the guards, and secured him out of their reach. Numbers on this occasion were trampled to death by the soldiers, or slain by their darts. This relation is given by the saint in his apology for his flight, and in his "History of the Arians," addressed to the monks. The next step of the Arians was to fix a trusty man of their party in this important see ; and the person they pitched upon was one George, who had been victualler to the army, one of the most brutish and cruel of men, who was accordingly placed in the patriarchal chair. His roughness and savage temper made him seem the fittest instrument to oppress the Catholics, and he renewed all the scenes of bloodshed and violence of which Gregory had set the example, as Theodoret relates. Our holy bishop hereupon retired into the deserts of Egypt ; but was not permitted to enjoy long the conversation of the devout inhabitants of those parts, who, according to the expression of St. Gregory Nazianzen, lived only to God. His enemies having set a price upon his head, the wildernesses were ransacked by soldiers in quest of him, and the monks persecuted, who were determined rather to suffer death than to discover where he lay concealed. The saint, apprehensive of their suffering on his account, left them, and retired to a more remote and solitary place,

where he had scarce air to breathe in, and saw none but the person that supplied him with necessities, and brought him his letters, though not without great danger and difficulty.

Constantius died on the 3rd of November in 361, a prince whose memory will be eternally infamous for his heresy, and persecution of the Church, his dissimulation, levity, and inconstancy, his weakness of mind, and the treacherous murder of all his uncles. The year following, George, the Arian usurper of the See of Alexandria, was massacred by the pagans for his cruelty. Thus was Athanasius delivered from all his chief enemies. Julian, the Apostate, on coming to the empire, granted all the bishops who had been banished by Constantius the liberty to return to their respective churches; not out of any goodwill he bore them, but with a view, as his own historian writes, to increase their divisions by this license, and lessen his fears for their uniting against him; also to reflect an odium on the memory and proceedings of his predecessor. Most of the orthodox bishops took their advantage of this permission; and the usurper of the See of Alexandria being massacred by the pagans in July, 362, our saint returned to his flock in August, after an absence of above six years. His entrance was a kind of triumph of the Catholic faith over its enemies, and the citizens hereupon drove the Arians out of all the churches.

In 359, the Council of Rimini had the weakness so far to yield to the artifices of the Arians, as to omit in the creed the word *consubstantial*. The prelates were afterward surprised to see the triumph of the Arians on that account, and were struck with remorse for their unwary condescension. Their fall was owing, not to any error in faith, but to a want of courage and insight into the artifices of the Arians. Nevertheless, Lucifer of Cagliari, and some other bishops, pretended, by a pharisaical pride, that the lapsed, notwithstanding their repentance, could no longer be admitted by the Church to communion in the rank of bishops or priests. St. Athanasius, on the contrary, being filled with the spirit of tenderness which our divine Redeemer exercised and recommended to be shown towards sincere penitents, condemned this excessive severity, and, in 362, assembled a council at Alexandria, at which assisted St. Eusebius of Vercelli, in his return from his banishment in Thebais, St. Asterius of Petra, etc. This synod condemned those who denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and decreed that the authors of the Arian heresy should be deposed, and upon their repentance received only to the lay communion; but that those prelates who had fallen into it only by compulsion, and for a short time, should, upon their repentance, retain their sees. This decision was adopted in Macedonia,

Achaia, Spain, Gaul, etc., and approved at Rome. For we learn from St. Hilary, that Liberius, who died in 366, had established this disciple in Italy, and we have his letter to the Catholic bishops of that country, in which he approves what had been regulated in this regard in Achaia and Egypt, and exhorts them to exert their zeal against the authors of their fault, in proportion to the grief they felt for having committed it.

Theodoret says, that the priests of the idols complained to Julian, that, if Athanasius was suffered to remain in Alexandria, there would not remain one adorer of the gods in that city. Julian, having received this advice, answered their complaint, telling them that, though he had allowed the Galileans (his name of derision for Christians) to return to their own country, he had not given them leave to enter on the possession of their churches. And that Athanasius in particular, who had been banished by the orders of several emperors, ought not to have done this. He therefore ordered him immediately to leave the city on the receipt of his letter, under the penalty of a severe punishment. He even despatched a messenger to kill him. The saint comforted his flock, and having recommended them to the ablest of his friends, with an assurance that this storm would soon blow over, embarked in a boat on the river for Thebais. He who had orders to kill him, hearing that he was fled, sailed after him with great expedition. The saint having timely notice sent him of it, was advised by those that accompanied him to turn aside into the deserts that bordered on the Nile. But St. Athanasius ordered them to tack about and fall down the river towards Alexandria, "to show," said he, "that our Protector is more powerful than our persecutor." Meeting the pursuivant, he asked them whether they had seen Athanasius as they came down the river, and was answered that he was not far off, and that, if they made haste, they would quickly come up with him. Upon this the assassin continued the pursuit, while St. Athanasius got safe and unsuspected to Alexandria, where he lay hid for some time. But, upon a fresh order coming from Julian for his death, he withdrew into the deserts of Thebais, going from place to place to avoid falling into the hands of his enemy. St. Theodorus, of Tabenna, being come to visit him, while at Antinoë, with St. Pammom, put an end to his apprehensions on this score, by assuring him, on a revelation God had favoured him with, that Julian had just then expired in Persia, where he was killed on the 27th of June in 363. The holy hermit acquainted him also that the reign of his Christian successor would be very short. This was Jovian, who, being chosen emperor, refused to accept that dignity till the army had declared for the



Christian religion. He was no sooner placed upon the throne but he wrote to St. Athanasius, cancelling the sentence of his banishment, and praying him to resume the government of his Church, adding high commendations of his virtue and unshaken constancy. St. Athanasius waited not for the Emperor's orders to quit his retreat, but, on being apprized, as before related, of the death of his persecutor, appeared on a sudden, and resumed his usual functions in the midst of his people, who were joyfully surprised at the sight of him. The Emperor, well knowing that he was the chief person that had stood up in defence of the Christian faith, besought him, by a second letter, to send him a full account in writing of its doctrines, and some rules for his conduct and behaviour in what regarded the affairs of the Church. St. Athanasius called a synod of learned bishops, and returned an answer in their name; recommending that he should hold inviolable the doctrine explained in the Council of Nice, this being the faith of the apostles, which had been preached in all ages, and was generally professed throughout the whole Christian world, "some few excepted," says he, "who embrace the opinions of Arius." The Arians attempted in vain to alter his favourable dispositions towards the saint by renewing their old calumnies. Not satisfied with his instructions by letters, he desired to see him; and the holy Bishop was received by him at Antioch with all possible tokens of affection and esteem; but after giving him holy advice, he hastened back to Alexandria. The good emperor Jovian reigned only eight months, dying on the 7th of February in 364. Valentinian, his successor, chose to reside in the West, and making his brother, Valens, partner in the empire, assigned to him the East. Valens was inclined to Arianism, and openly declared in favour of it in 367, when he received baptism from the hands of Eudoxius, bishop of the Arians, at Constantinople. The same year he published an edict for the banishment of all those bishops who had been deprived of their sees by Constantius. Theodoret says this was the fifth time that St. Athanasius had been driven from his church. He had been employed in visiting the churches, monasteries, and deserts of Egypt. Upon the news of this new tempest, the people of Alexandria rose in tumults, demanding of the governor of the province that they might be allowed to enjoy their bishop; and he promised to write to the Emperor. St. Athanasius, seeing the sedition appeased, stole privately out of the town, and hid himself in the country in the vault in which his father was interred, where he lay four months, according to Sozomen. The very night after he withdrew, the governor and the general of the troops took possession of the church in which he usually performed his

functions, but were not able to find him. As soon as his departure was known, the city was filled with lamentation, the people vehemently calling on the governor for the return of their pastor. The fear of a sedition moved Valens at length to grant them that satisfaction, and to write to Alexandria that he might abide there in peace, in the free possession of the churches. In 369, the holy Patriarch convened at Alexandria a council of ninety bishops, in whose name he wrote to the bishops of Africa, to beware of any surprise from those who were for preferring the decrees of the Council of Rimini to those of Nice.

The continued scenes of perfidy, dissimulation, and malice which the history of Arianism exhibits to our view, amaze and fill us with horror. Such superlative impiety and hypocrisy would have seemed incredible had not the facts been attested by St. Athanasius himself, and by all the historians of that age. They were likewise of so public a nature, having been performed before the eyes of the whole world, or proved by ocular demonstration in the Arians' own synods, that St. Athanasius could never have inserted them in his "Apology," addressed to these very persons and to the whole world, could any circumstances have been disproved, or even called in question. By such base arts and crimes did the Arian blasphemy spread itself, like a spark of fire set to a train of gunpowder ; and, being supported by the whole power of a crafty and proud emperor, seemed to threaten destruction to the Church of Christ had it not been built on foundations which, according to the promises of Him who laid them, all the power of hell shall never be able to shake. During more than three hundred years it had stood the most violent assaults of the most cruel and powerful persecutors, who had bent the whole power of the empire to extirpate, if it had been possible, the Christian name. But the more it was depressed the more it grew and flourished, and the blood of martyrs was a seed which pushed forth and multiplied with such a wonderful increase as to extend its shoots into every part of the then known world, and to fill every province and every rank of men in the Roman Empire. By the conversion of the emperors themselves, it appeared triumphant over all the efforts of hell. But the implacable enemy of man's salvation did not desist in his attacks. His restless envy and malice grew more outrageous by his defeats ; and shifting his ground, he stirred up his instruments within the bowels of the Church itself, and excited against it a storm, in which hell seemed to vomit out all its poison, and unite all the efforts of its malice. But these vain struggles again terminated in the most glorious triumph of the Church. In those perilous times, God-raised up

many holy pastors, whom He animated with His spirit, and strengthened in the defence of His truth. Among these St. Athanasius was the most illustrious champion. By his undaunted courage and unparalleled greatness of soul under the most violent persecutions, he merited a crown equal to that of the most glorious martyrs ; by his erudition, eloquence, and writings, he holds an illustrious place among the principal doctors of the Church ; and by the example of his virtue, by which he rivalled the most renowned anchorets of the deserts, and the most holy confessors, he stemmed the torrent of scandal and iniquity which threatened to bear down all before it.

St. Gregory Nazianzen gives the following portrait of his virtues in private life : “ He was most humble and lowly in mind, as his virtue was most sublime and inimitable. He was most courteous to all, and every one had easy access to him ; he was meek, gentle, compassionate, amiable in his discourse, but much more so in his life ; of an angelical disposition ; mild in his reproofs, and instructive in his commendations, in both which he observed such even measures, that his reproof spoke the kindness of a father, and his commendation the authority of a master ; and neither was his indulgence overtender, or his severity harsh. His life supplied the place of sermons, and his sermons prevented correction. In him all ranks might find enough to admire, and enough to imitate ; one might commend his unwearied austerity in fasting and prayer ; another his perseverance in watchings and the divine praises ; a third his admirable care of the poor ; a fourth his courage in checking the injustice of the rich, or his condescension to the humble.” Thus St. Gregory Nazianzen, who says he was a loadstone to dissenters, drawing them to his opinion, unless hardened in malice ; and always at least raising in them a secret reverence and veneration for his person ; but that he was an adamant to his persecutors ; no more capable of impressions against justice than a rock of marble is of yielding to any slight touch. After innumerable combats, and as many great victories, this glorious saint, having governed the Church of Alexandria forty-six years, was called to a life exempt from labour and suffering, on the 2nd of May, on a Thursday, according to the Oriental Chronicle of the Copthes, in the year 373, as is clear from the same author, St. Proterius, and St. Jerom ; not in 371, as Socrates mistakes. St. Gregory Nazianzen thus describes his death : “ He ended his life in a holy old age, and went to keep company with his fathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, who had fought valiantly for the truth, as he had done ;

and to comprise his epitaph in a few words, he departed this life with far greater honour and glory than what he had received in his more than triumphant entries into Alexandria, when he returned from his banishments, so much was his death lamented by all good men ; and the immortal glory of his name remained imprinted in their hearts." He desires the saint "to look down upon him from heaven, to favour and assist him in the government of his flock, and to preserve it in the true faith ; and if, for the sins of the world, heretics were to prevail against it, to deliver him from these evils, and to bring him, by his intercession, to enjoy God in his company."

The humility, modesty, and charity of this great saint, his invincible meekness towards his enemies, who were the most implacable and basest of men, and the heroic fortitude, patience, and zeal, by which he triumphed over the persecutions of almost the whole world confederated against him, and of four emperors, Constantine, Constantius, Julian, and Valens, three of whom employed wiles, stratagems, and hypocrisy, and sometimes open force to destroy him ; these, I say, and all other eminent virtues, have rendered his name venerable in the Church to the latest ages, which he ceases not to instruct and edify by his writings.

These and other virtues St. Athanasius learned and practised in the most heroic degree, by studying them devoutly and assiduously in the sacred life, and in the divine heart of Jesus. And in the simplicity of faith he adored the incomprehensible greatness of the Divinity, His infinite wisdom, justice, and sanctity, with the boundless treasures of His love and mercy, in the mystery of His adorable Incarnation. If we have a holy ambition to improve ourselves in this saving knowledge, in this most sublime and truly divine science, which will not only enlighten our understanding, but also reform all the affections of our hearts, and be in us a source of unspeakable peace, joy, love, light, and happiness, we must study in the same school. We must become zealous lovers and adorers of our most amiable Redeemer ; we must meditate daily on His admirable life, penetrating into the unfathomed abyss of His love, and His perfect sentiments of humility, meekness, and every virtue in all His actions, and join our homages with those which he paid in His divine heart, and still continues to offer to His Father ; we must sacrifice to Him our affections in transports of joy and fervour, adoring, praising, loving, and thanking Him, and must continually beg His mercy and grace, that we may be replenished with His spirit of humility and every virtue ; and, above all, that His love may take absolute possession of our hearts, and of all our faculties and powers.

## SAINT AUGUSTINE, BISHOP, C.,

AND DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.

A.D. 430.

So great is the veneration which popes, councils, and the whole Church have paid to the memory of this glorious saint, through every succeeding age since his time, that to load our history with a list of his illustrious panegyrists would be a superfluous labour ; and barely to copy the sober praises, which the most judicious Christian critics have bestowed on his extraordinary learning and sanctity, would be like carrying water to the sea. For the name of the great St. Austin is alone the highest eulogium and panegyric, raises in all persons the most exalted idea, and commands the most profound respect. This perfect model of true penitents, this triumphing champion of our holy faith, and confounder of heresies, this bright light and most glorious doctor of the Church of Christ, was born on the 13th of November in the year 354, at Tagaste, a small town of Numidia, in Africa, not far from Hippo, but at some distance from the sea, which the saint had never seen till he was grown up. His parents were of good condition, yet not very rich ; his father, Patricius, was an idolater, and of a hasty choleric disposition ; but by the holy example and prudent conduct of St. Monica, his wife, he at length learned the humility and meekness of the Christian religion, and was baptized a little before his death. She bore him several children ; St. Austin speaks of his brother Navigius, who left a family behind him, and of a sister who died an abbess. Our saint had the misfortune to fall, in his youth, like the prodigal son, into the most frightful gulf of vice and spiritual miseries, of which himself has drawn a lively portraiture in the first books of his Confessions, both for his own greater humiliation, and to deplore his blindness and ingratitude towards God, to set forth the infinite riches of the divine mercy, and to propose the example of his own fall as a warning to others. If we pursue him in his youth through all those mazes in which he wandered and bewildered himself so long, it is only that we may

learn to discover and shun the snares and dangers with which we are encompassed, and cleave more closely to God.

St. Austin begins his *Confessions* by adoring the unchangeable and incomprehensible majesty of God, and by praising His infinite mercy, which in a wonderful manner brought him into this dying life ("shall I call it?" says he) or living death, into which he himself knew not how or whence he came. The saint thanks Him who gave him this being, formed his body, furnished it with senses, and beautified it with a comely form; and who bestowed on him a mind or soul, from his birth provided him food, and constantly attended him with the comforts of His mercy, commanding him to praise His adorable majesty for all these things, to confess to Him, and to sing to His holy name, who is the Most High. The saint cries out to God, "Let Thy mercy suffer me to speak. What am I to Thee that Thou shouldst command me to love Thee, and shouldst be angry with me, and threaten me with great miseries, if I love Thee not? Is it, then, a small misery not to love Thee?" He confesses with regret that he began to offend his gracious God even in that age which is falsely called innocent, which was passed away without leaving any traces in his memory, and which was, with respect to the darkness of his oblivion of it, much like to that which he passed in his mother's womb. He accused himself thus from what he observed in other children, for he perceived that little ones are easily possessed with jealousy, anger, and revenge, which they sometimes express by their pale and envious looks; and they require with tears what would be hurtful if granted, and they rage and swell against their betters and those that owe them no subjection, and would have them to comply with their will, and to obey them even in things that are hurtful; they also suck in very early sentiments of vanity and pride. He laments that custom should make it appear against reason for children in this tender age to suffer correction for what certainly deserves reprehension, and what is strengthened by being flattered, and becomes sinful upon the first dawning of the use of reason; whereas there is no age which is not docile, and capable of some degree of correction by the senses, whereby the first seeds of the passions may be crushed. He deplores that when he had learned to speak, and launched farther out into the tempestuous society of human life, though as yet wholly depending on the authority of his parents and the beck of elders, he multiplied his sins and miseries. By the care of his pious mother, he was instructed in the Christian religion, and taught to pray. He was made a catechumen by being marked with the sign of the cross, and by blessed salt being

put in his mouth ; and whilst he went to school in his own town, falling dangerously ill, he desired baptism, and his mother got everything ready for it ; but he on a sudden grew better, and it was deferred. This was done lest he should afterwards stain the grace of that sacrament, considering the great billows of temptations that were like to beset him after his childhood. This custom of deferring baptism, for fear of sinning under the weight and obligations of that sacrament, St. Austin most justly condemns ; but then the want of a sense of the sanctity of that sacrament, and the frequent perfidiousness and sacrileges of Christians in defiling it, by relapsing into sin, is an abuse which, in these latter ages, calls for our tears, and for all our zeal. The Church has long since forbid the baptism of infants ever to be deferred, but it is one of the principal duties of pastors to instruct the faithful in the rigorous obligations which that sacrament lays them under, and to teach them highly to value and to watch carefully to preserve the grace which they received by it.

Patricius, who was a worldly man, and continued still an idolater, perceived that his son Austin had an excellent genius, and a wonderful disposition for learning, and with a view to his future preferment, spared nothing to breed him up a scholar. Here the saint thanks God, that though the persons who pressed him to learn had no other end in view than to satisfy a desire of *penurious riches and ignominious glory*, yet Divine Providence made a good use of their error, and forced him to learn for his great profit and manifold advantage. But herein he accuses himself that he sinned, often studying only by constraint, disobeying the commands of his parents and masters, not writing, reading, or minding his lessons so much as was required of him ; and this he did, not for want of wit or memory, but out of the love of play. He dreaded correction, and prayed to God, when a little one, with great earnestness, that he might escape punishment at school, regarding it as his great and grievous evil, for which dread he was derided by his masters and parents.

Though the age of children is frequently indocile to severe discipline, and stands in need of restraint, yet it is generally better governed by generous motives of virtue and a filial awe than by much servile fear ; and St. Austin seems to complain of austere pedagogues who multiply to youth that labour and sorrow through which the sons of Adam are all obliged to pass ; whereas their tasks might often be made in some degree agreeable, and scholars might be induced to love them upon principles of duty and virtue ; for “no one,” says the saint, “doth well what he doth against his will.” He takes notice of the miseries of the

depraved human condition ; for these severe masters were guilty themselves, in their ambitious projects and idle amusements and pleasures, of greater follies than they chastised in the children ; only "the toys of men are called business." It was a more fatal abuse that these masters by their own passions taught children, whose observation nothing escapes, to authorize themselves in habits of anger, envy, vanity, pride, and the like vices ; for the pedagogue, who chastised his scholar for a less fault, in the meanwhile, if overcome in some petty dispute by a fellow-teacher, was more racked with envy and choler than the boy ever was when outdone by a playfellow at ball. This, however, excuses not the faults of the scholars. St. Austin humbly acknowledges that he at that age fell also into vanity, pleasing himself with the pride of surpassing his companions at play, and loving to have his ears scratched with vain praises, that they might itch the more. A worse curiosity drew him to the dangerous entertainments of those that were older—public shows, plays, and other diversions of the theatre. He declares that God justly turns sin into its own chastisement, its pleasures always leaving a sting, and filling the mind with gall and bitterness. "For Thou hast ordained it, and so it is," says he, "that every inordinate affection should be to itself its own punishment and torment."

In his studies he liked Latin very well, having learned that language from his nurses, and others with whom he conversed. Whilst he was little he hated Greek, and the perplexing rules of the grammar of that tongue ; and, for want of understanding it sufficiently, he could not then relish the beauties of Homer ; but the Latin poets became his early delight. Herein he laments that he filled his head with the wanderings of Æneas, whilst he forgot his own wanderings, and he shed tears for the death of Dido, whom he beheld himself with dry eyes perishing from God, miserable wretch as he was ; "for what can be more miserable," says he, "than one that is in misery, yet hath no compassion for himself? than one who wept for the death of Dido, occasioned by her love for Æneas, yet wept not for his own death, caused by not loving Thee, O Lord?" Poesy, however, not only enlarged his knowledge of languages, and exceedingly opened the faculties of his mind, especially that of invention, the ground of a creating or original genius, but this study also gave him a sublimity of thought and expression, by its exalted eloquence, by which, with elegance and decent propriety, it raises the mind above nature, which rhetoric closely confines within its bounds ; and to poetry he was indebted for the art of employing in oratory frequent lively images and bold touches.



The saint thanks God for many good endowments of his childhood, and for his progress in learning, all the fruits of which he offers to God ; and begs that he may be enabled to refer them purely to His service, so as never to speak, write, read, cast accounts, or make use of any other profitable thing that he had learned but for the divine honour. He humbly asks pardon for the sins he had committed by taking delight in his learning, and in the misuse of his wit, being pleased with applause given to his exercises above those of many others of his age, which was mere smoke and wind ; his wit and tongue ought rather to have been employed in the praises of God. He complains that some scholars were more ashamed and afraid of incurring the disgrace of men by a barbarism or solecism, than they were of offending God ; and that an orator will sometimes declaim before a mortal judge with implacable hatred against his enemy, or detract from his reputation, whilst he is extremely careful not to let slip any impropriety in his discourse. From such a pernicious example he learned to be more afraid of uttering a solecism in discourse than of being guilty of envy, or of deceiving his tutor, masters, or others by lies for the sake of play, for which sins he grievously laments. He also deplores the sins of theft which he committed by stealing little things out of his parents' cellar, or from their table, either to gratify his gluttony, or to give to his playfellows. He confesses in particular that one night he and a company of wicked youths stole some pears from a neighbour's tree near his father's garden, out of mere wantonness, and a lust of doing what they ought not to do ; for the stolen fruit was bad, and they only threw it to the hogs. In this sin he laments the strange seduction of bad company, and of that friendship which is an enemy to the soul. Because some among such companions say, " Let us go, let us do it," every one is ashamed not to be shameless. The most fatal rock against which Austin split was the execrable vice of impurity, into which he fell in the sixteenth year of his age. He was led into this gulf by reading lascivious plays in Terence, by sloth, by frequenting stage entertainments, and by bad company and example.

Austin went to school first in his own town ; then his father sent him to Madaura, a neighbouring city, where he studied grammars poetry, and rhetoric. When he was sixteen years old his father, made him return to Tagaste, designing to send him to finish his studies at Carthage ; but before he executed this project, he kept him a whole year at home. During this time the young man, slighting the good advice of his mother, fell into lewd company, being induced to it by idleness, and by the indulgence of his

father, who had not yet received baptism, and whose only ambition was to make this son a scholar. Youth ought to be constantly applied to some serious employment ; a short interval of idleness between coming from school and going to business often enervates the mind, takes off the edge of its activity and love of application, and destroys the advantage of good habits, and the fruit of whole years ; and the disorder is often beyond recovery. Austin, during the interval of this year, gave himself up to pastimes and diversions, particularly to sporting and catching of birds, in which he bore incredible fatigues. In the meantime his passions grew unruly, and his father took no care of his growing up in virtue, provided he was eloquent. His mother indeed secretly admonished him with great solicitude to keep himself free from vice, "which," says the saint, "seemed to me but the admonitions of a woman, which I was ashamed to obey ; whereas they were Thy admonitions, O God, and I knew it not. By her Thou didst speak to me, and I despised Thee in her. Yet I knew it not, and I rushed on with so much blindness, that amongst my equals I was ashamed of being less guilty than others when I heard them bragging of their flagitious actions ; and I had a mind to do the like."

Austin went to Carthage towards the end of the year 370, in the beginning of the seventeenth year of his age. There he easily held the foremost place in the school of rhetoric, and applied himself to his studies with so much eagerness and pleasure, that it was with great difficulty that he was drawn from them. But his motives were vanity and ambition, and in his studies he was pleased with pride, and puffed up with self-conceit, though he hated open arrogance, and abhorred the abusive wits called *Eversores*, who made it their cruel diversion to insult and impudently deride others, especially strangers, only to gratify a malicious mirth. Vincent the Rogatist, his enemy, acknowledges that he always loved decency and good manners even in his irregularities ; but this was no more than a worldly and exterior decency ; for he plunged himself headlong into the filth of impurity. The world authorises many criminal occasions of vice, which, by the sanction of example, pass among many for innocent. This reflection exerted from St. Austin after his conversion the following complaint : "Woe to thee, O torrent of custom among men ! Who will resist thee ? Who will stop thy impetuous tide ?" He was by the force of example drawn into wicked company and dangerous amusements, especially into a fondness for tragedy, and other stage entertainments, which, being full of the images of the most infamous passions, entertained that fire which had already begun to devour him.

His father, Patricius, died soon after he had been baptized, in 371 ; but Austin still continued his studies at Carthage. Among the works of Cicero which he read in the nineteenth year of his age, he fell upon one which is now lost, entitled "*Hortensius*," which was an exhortation to philosophy. By it he was strongly affected, and was inflamed with a great desire and love of wisdom, and filled with a contempt of riches and honours, and from that time laid aside all expectation of magistracies and high worldly preferments. Being only twenty years old, he heard the masters speak with great boasting of Aristotle's book, of the ten categories of predicaments ; he therefore eagerly read it over by himself, and understood it all without a master. But this book led him to place God in the category of substance, and to reason of Him in a corporeal manner. He at length grew weary of reading Cicero's "*Hortensius*," and the books of the heathen philosophers, because Christ was not mentioned in them, whose Name he had sucked in, as it were, with his mother's milk, and deeply retained. He desired therefore to read the Holy Scriptures, but was offended with the simplicity of the style ; and swelling with pride as if he was endued with a great genius, he could not relish their humility, or penetrate their spirit. Soon after this he fell into the sect of the Manichees, in which he continued between eight and nine years, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth year of his age. Vice, especially that of impurity, strangely degrades and infatuates the mind, creates an utter distaste and loathing of spiritual things, and renders the soul incapable of raising her thoughts and affections to heavenly objects ; this foul vice blinds the understanding, debauches the faculty of reason, and perverts the will, and all the other powers of the soul, of which no example can be more amazing than that of King Solomon. This dreadful blindness accounts for the fall of so great a genius as Austin was into the most monstrous of heresies. Pride was another occasion of his ruin. "I sought with pride," says he, "what only humility could make me find. Fool that I was, I left the nest imagining myself able to fly ; and I fell to the ground." His vanity was soothed and flattered by the Manichees, who pretended to try everything by the test of bare reason, and scoffing at all those who paid a due deference to the authority of the Catholic Church, as if they shackled reason, and walked in trammels. It was by this artifice that he was seduced and caught in their nets ; they promised to show him everything by demonstration, banishing all mystery, and calling faith weakness, credulity, and ignorance. "They said that, setting aside *dreadful* authority, they would lead men to God, and free them from all error by reason alone." Isaac Beausobre hence

infers that before St. Austin's time Catholics furiously extolled the authority of the Church. He ought to have added that St. Austin afterward, upon mature consideration, found that it is highly rational, with regard to supernatural truths, to acquiesce in the testimony of God, manifested by the authority of the Church derived from Him, guided by His unerring Spirit, in conserving unviolated His divine revelation, of which we have the strongest assurance given us by the same revelation, confirmed to us by evident miracles, and other motives of credibility, to which, upon an impartial review, no one can prudently refuse assent.

Modern Socinians, and others, who boast mightily of making reason their only guide, are driven by their own principles into the most glaring inconsistencies and monstrous absurdities against reason itself, as St. Austin afterward discovered of the ancient Manichees, whereas reason leads us, as it were, by the hand to divine revelation, which, far from opposing it, shows its insufficiency in things that lie beyond its reach, and offers its own noontday light to direct us safely to the most necessary and important truths. By slighting and contemning this secure and sober method of attaining a true knowledge of divine mysteries, so great a wit unhappily fell into the snares of the Manichees. Writing to his friend, Honoratus, who was still detained in those errors, to which he had himself persuaded him, he lays open this to have been the source of his ruin, that, relying too much on the strength of his own reason, he despised the direction and authority of the Catholic Church. "You know, Honoratus," says he, "that upon no other ground we adhered to these men. What else made me, rejecting for almost nine years together the religion which was instilled into me in my childhood, a follower and diligent hearer of these men, only their saying that we are overawed by superstition, and that faith is obtruded on us without reason being given; whereas they tie none to believe, except upon the truth being first examined and cleared up? Who by such promises would not have been inveigled? especially a young man, desirous of truth, and by a reputation among learned men in the schools, already grown proud and talkative. They derided the simplicity of the Catholic faith, which commanded men to believe before they were taught by evident reason what was truth." St. Austin frequently teaches, in his other works, that this is the general method of other heretics, and the usual occasion of miscarriages in faith. "It is," says he, "as it were, a rule amongst all heretics that they endeavour to overbear with the name and promise of reason the most steady authority of the Church, which is firmly founded; and this they are forced to do, because they perceive themselves to be most

contemptibly worsted if their authority should once come to be compared with that of the Catholic Church." And in another place : "All heretics generally deceive by the ostentatious promise of science, and reprehend the simplicity of believers."

St. Austin tells us, that the chief questions which gruelled him, and to which the Manichees promised a solution, were, Whence came evils and the difficulty of forming a clear apprehension of a spirit ? whence he was persuaded to imagine God to be corporeal ; and, by listening to those masters of error, he was brought by insensible degrees to such folly as to believe, that when a fig is gathered, both it and its mother-tree weep with milky tears ; and that if some Manichæan saint should eat it (after it has been plucked by another's crime, and not his own), particles of good intelligencies, or rather of the Deity, which were imprisoned in the fruit, are restored to liberty. However, soon perceiving that these heretics were more dexterous in disputing against others, than in defending or proving their own tenets, on this account he remained rather a seeker than a perfect Manichee, and continuing among them only in the rank of a hearer, he would never be initiated among their elect. In the meantime his heart was swelled with pride by his success in frequent disputations with several Catholics, in which, by the subtilty of his wit, and quickness in reasoning, he seemed unhappily victorious ; and he engaged several of his friends in the same errors with himself ; among others, Alipius, and his patron and benefactor, Romanianus, in whose house he lodged during his studies at Carthage. He had attained to a perfect understanding of most of the liberal sciences at scarce twenty years of age ; but says of his learning at that time, because he did not apply himself with it to the true knowledge of God : "What did this profit me, when indeed it did me harm?"

In the twentieth year, to ease his mother of the charge of his education, he left Carthage, and returning to her, set up a school of grammar and rhetoric at Tagaste ; but she, who was a good Catholic, and never ceased to pray for his conversion, forbore to sit at the same table, or to eat with him, hoping, by this severity and abhorrence of his heresy, to make him enter into himself. Some time after, finding her own endeavours to reclaim him unsuccessful, she repaired to a certain bishop, and with tears besought him to discourse with her son upon his errors. The prelate excused himself for the present, alleging that her son was yet unfit for instruction, being intoxicated with the novelty of his heresy, and bloated with conceit, having often puzzled several Catholics who had entered the lists with him, and were more zealous than learned. "Only pray to Our Lord for him," said he, "your son will at

length discover his error and impiety." She still persisted, with many tears, importuning him that he would see her unhappy son ; but he dismissed her, saying, "Go your way ; God bless you. It cannot be that a child of those tears should perish." Which words she received as an oracle from heaven. She was also comforted by a dream, in which she seemed to see a young man, who, having asked the cause of her sorrow and daily tears, bid her be of good courage, for where she was, there her son also was. Upon which she, looking about, saw Austin standing upon the same plank with herself. This assurance, and her confidence in the divine mercy, gave her present comfort ; but she was yet to wait several years for the accomplishment of her earnest desires, and to obtain it by many importunate prayers and tears, which she could not but put forth in abundance, while she saw her beloved son an enemy to that God whom she loved far more than her son or herself.

Austin had a dear friend, who had been for several years the companion of his studies, to whom he had been accustomed to unbosom himself without reserve in all his cares. This individual companion was in the bloom of life, and, through his persuasion, had been involved in the Manichæan errors. Falling sick, he was converted to the Catholic Church and baptized. Austin rallied him on that score, but he, with an unexpected liberty, told him that if he meant to continue his friend, he should speak to him no more in that manner, and that if he did, he should fly from him with horror, and regard him as his enemy. This young man soon after relapsed into a fever like his first distemper, and died in great sentiments of piety and religion. The loss of this friend was a grievous affliction to Austin ; his heart was overwhelmed with darkness and grief ; he seemed to see the image of death in everything that he beheld ; his country and his own house seemed full of horror ; all places and things where he had formerly enjoyed him were turned into bitter torment, because they were now without him, and Austin's eyes sought him in all places, though they found him in none. All things in the world were become irksome and odious to him, because they did not restore the person whom he had lost, and nothing said to him, as before everything seemed to do, "He will shortly come to you." Tears and mourning had succeeded his friend in the dearest place of his affection, and to weep or grieve was become the sole pleasure of his life.

Not being able any longer to bear his native country, he removed to Carthage, where time and new connections wore away his grief. Ambition and vanity had likewise a share in that step,

the capital of Africa being a greater theatre for the displaying of his abilities. At Carthage he opened a school of rhetoric, gained great applause in the public disputations, and carried away the principal prizes in the theatre for the best performances in poesy and oratory ; but he laments his blindness that he was seduced by pride in the sciences, and by superstition, under a false name of religion ; following in the first the emptiness of popular glory, the shouts of the theatre, and contentious disputes for crowns of hay, and such-like fooleries ; and seeking in a false religion to be purged from the sins of his intemperance and lusts, by carrying food to the elect and saints, which was to be moulded in their stomachs into angels and gods, by whom he was to be delivered. Considering this his folly, he cries out to God in a feeling and humble acknowledgment of his own weakness : "What am I to myself without Thee but my own guide falling headlong down a precipice?" He began to apply himself to judiciary astrology, but soon abandoned that fallacious study, being informed that it consisted altogether in tricks and deceit. When he was about six or seven-and-twenty years of age, he wrote two or three books, "*De pulchro et apto*;" or, "On what is beautiful and decent or fit in things;" which work is lost. He began about that time to dislike the stories related by the Manichees concerning the system of the world, the heavenly bodies, and the elements. "This kind of knowledge," said he, "is not essential to religion, but it is essential not to lie, and not to boast of knowing what we know not."

There was in Africa at that time a Manichæan bishop, named Faustus, much celebrated by those of his sect as a wonderful man, and perfectly skilled in all manner of sciences. Austin had waited with great impatience for his coming to Carthage, hoping he would satisfy all his doubts ; but when he arrived, he found by a long conference that he was a good speaker, but said no more than the rest of the Manichees, only explained himself with greater grace and facility. Austin wanted something more than words, and was too solid a wit to be contented with mere form ; and perceiving how little satisfaction he received from this great doctor of the sect, he from that time disapproved it entirely, being then twenty-nine years of age. Nevertheless, his prepossessions against the Catholic faith hindered him from turning his inquiries on that side, so that, after he despaired of discovering the truth in his own sect, not knowing where to find anything better, he determined still to remain content with what he had stumbled upon, till he should fall upon something that should appear more reasonable and satisfactory. The truly ingenious and pious Mr. Abraham Woodhead, who, leaving Oxford, embraced the Catholic faith,

wishes many nowadays would take warning to arm themselves against the same pernicious sloth ; supposing several now to labour under the like disease, who, as it were, purposely deprive themselves of the grace of being enlightened with the truth, by not inquiring after it, only from the false informers of their own party, to which, by chance, or a false choice, they are first addicted.

Austin, whilst he remained in this fluctuation of mind, being disgusted at the disorderly behaviour of the students at Carthage, resolved to go to Rome, where scholars were kept under stricter discipline. This foreign journey he undertook without his mother's consent, and herein he praises the divine goodness, which, by his irregularities themselves, brought him to their cure ; by afflicting his mother, and refusing to hear her present request, by which she prayed that her son might not sail, God made her redouble her earnestness and her tears, that He might accomplish the main thing, which was the conversion of this son. At Rome he applied himself to the Manichees, and lodged with one of that sect, merely on account of former acquaintance, and because he was not yet resolved on any other religion. Soon after his arrival in that city, he fell sick of a violent fever, and seemed reduced by it to the very point of dying, and perishing for ever. "For whither had I gone," says he, "if I had then died but into those flames and torments which I deserved?" But it pleased God to raise him from this dangerous sickness, through the prayers of his mother, which she never ceased to put forth for his conversion, though she was then absent, and ignorant of his present danger. Whilst he professed rhetoric in that great city, his school was frequented by the most famous wits of that age, and none ever went from it without either being struck with admiration at his learning and parts, which were rendered more amiable by the natural sweetness of his temper ; or being moved with envy at the honour he acquired in his disputations ; but finding the scholars there often unjust enough to change frequently their masters, in order to cheat them of their salary for teaching, he grew weary of the place ; and it happening that deputies were sent from Milan, where the Emperor Valentinian the Younger kept his court, to Symmachus, prefect of Rome, who was himself a great orator, requiring that he should send thither some able master of rhetoric, Austin made suit to be the man. He was strongly recommended by several persons of consideration, and having given Symmachus proofs of his capacity, was chosen by him, and accordingly sent.

At Milan he was received with great applause, and the most ingenious persons of that city were convinced that he deserved the high opinion they had entertained of him. The holy Bishop, St.



Ambrose, gave him particular marks of his respect. St. Austin was very desirous of being acquainted with him, not as with a teacher of the truth, which he thought impossible to be found among the Catholics, but only as a person of great learning and reputation, and one who was obliging and friendly to him. He frequently attended his sermons, not with any desire of profiting by them, but to gratify his curiosity, and to inform himself whether his eloquence answered the fame he had heard concerning him. He was very intent upon his words, and found his discourse elegant and more learned than that of Faustus, the Manichæan, yet not so pleasing in the delivery. Austin aimed only at gratifying his ears, and despised the matter which the Bishop treated ; yet his doctrine, like a distilling rain, insensibly made impressions on his heart, and caused the seeds of virtue to spring forth therein. He began to think there was good argument and reason in what he said, and that the Manichees unjustly derided and cast contempt on the writings of the law and the prophets ; but he was not yet convinced of the goodness of the Catholic cause, and he continued in suspense, withholding his heart from giving any assent, for fear of a precipice, though he learned from St. Ambrose's discourses that Catholics did not hold what the Manichees charged them with. In the meantime, in the pursuit of honours, riches, and a suitable marriage, he was often tormented with bitter anxieties, the remembrance of which made his soul afterward cleave faster and more sweetly to God, who at length rescued him from that tenacious birdlime of death. Being to pronounce, on the calends of January in 385, a panegyric in praise of the Emperor, and of the newly elected consul, Bauto, who was to be present, he was very anxious for the success ; and, passing through the streets of Milan, he envied the happiness of a poor beggar, whom he saw there laughing and merry, and complained to his friends what torments our own folly creates, only to purchase a tranquillity which perhaps we can never attain, but which that poor man seemed to enjoy in the trifling alms he had gathered that day : "It is true," says he, "his joy is not real ; but that which my ambition sought after was much less so."

In search of truth he was still perplexed about the origin of evil, and suffered a secret anguish in his soul to which only God was witness ; for neither was his time sufficient nor his tongue able to express the inward tumult of his soul. He also found great difficulty in conceiving God to be a pure spirit, without any corporeal extension, having been accustomed to the gross imagination of apprehending Him as corporeal and extended through all the empire of His goodness, according to the idea of the Manichees,

which differed entirely from that of the Anthropomorphites, who apprehended the divine substance to resemble a human body. In correcting this false notion he received great light by reading the works of Plato, and some other philosophers of his sect, who speak of the Eternal Word, and of incorporeal substances, in a manner which seemed to him clear and perspicuous. He became sensible of the necessity of admitting incorporeal substances, though (our ideas of them being conveyed to us chiefly through the inlets of our senses) we apprehend them imperfectly, and express them by analogical terms drawn from corporeal images. He therefore acknowledged that God must necessarily be an eternal, infinite, incomprehensible, and unchangeable Being, and a most pure and perfect Spirit ; also that there is nothing in the creation absolutely evil. He seemed to hear the divine voice crying to him from on high, "I am the meat of those that are grown up : grow thou up, and thou shalt feed upon Me : neither shalt thou convert Me into thee, like thy corporeal food ; but thou shalt be changed into Me."

He found the writings of the Platonic philosophers bred in his soul pride, and not humility, making him to have a mind to seem wise, and leaving him full of his punishment, instead of teaching him to bewail his own misery. Finding nothing in them about the great mystery of man's redemption, or Christ's incarnation, he with great eagerness of mind betook himself to read the New Testament, especially the writings of St. Paul, in which he then began to take great delight. Here he found the testimonies of the Old Testament admirably illustrated, the glory of heaven displayed, and the way clearly pointed out which leadeth us thither ; here he learned that which he had long felt, that he had a law in his members warring against the law in his mind, and that nothing could deliver him from this body of death but the grace of Jesus Christ. He perceived an infinite difference between the doctrine of him who styled himself the last of the apostles and that of those proud philosophers who esteemed themselves the greatest of men. Austin himself was now convinced of the truth and excellency of that virtue which the divine law prescribes in the Catholic Church, but was still prejudiced with such an apprehension of insuperable difficulties in the practice, as kept him from resolutely entering upon it.

Under his difficulties he addressed himself to Simplician, a priest of Milan, whom Pope Damasus had formerly sent from Rome to St. Ambrose to be his instructor and tutor, who was then beloved by him as his father, and afterward succeeded him in the bishopric of Milan. This holy man was in a very advanced age,

and had served God with great piety from his youth. To him Austin gave an account of the round of his wanderings and errors, and mentioned his reading certain books of the Platonics, which had been translated into Latin by Victorinus, who had formerly been professor of rhetoric in Rome, and died a Christian. Simplician commended his choice of these books, and related to him how himself had been instrumental in the conversion of this Victorinus ; for that very learned old man, who taught most of the senators of Rome, and had the honour of a statue set up in the Forum, embraced the faith of Christ. A fear of offending his friends, the Roman senators, those proud worshippers of devils, from whom he apprehended great storms of malice would fall upon him, made him defer his baptism for some time ; but being encouraged by Simplician, he overcame that temptation, and, trampling the world under his feet, was instructed and baptized by him. When Julian the Apostate forbade Christians to teach the sciences, Victorinus with joy quitted his school. Austin was strongly touched by so generous an example, and he envied the felicity of Victorinus more than he admired his fortitude, but was still held captive under the slavery of his passions.

He mournfully complains as follows : " I sighed and longed to be delivered, but was kept fast bound, not with exterior chains or irons, but with my own iron will. The enemy held my will, and of it he had made a chain, with which he had fettered me fast ; for from a perverse will was created wicked desire or lust, and the serving this lust produced custom, and custom not resisted produced a kind of necessity, with which, as with certain links fastened one to another, I was kept close-shackled in this cruel slavery. I had no excuse as I pretended formerly when I delayed to serve Thee, because I had not yet certainly discovered Thy truth ; for now I knew it, yet I was still fettered. The load of the world agreeably kept me down, as it happens in sleep ; and the desires by which I meditated to rise were but like the strugglings of such as would awake who nevertheless are still overcome with drowsiness, and fall back into their former slumber, whilst a heavy laziness benumbs their limbs, though reason tells them it is wrong, and that it is high time to arise. I had nothing now to reply to Thee when Thou saidst to me, *Arise, thou that sleepest, and rise up from the dead, and Christ will enlighten thee.* I had nothing, I say, at all to reply, being now convinced by Thy faith, but certain lazy and drowsy words, *Presently, by-and-by, let me alone a little while longer ;* but this *presently* did not *presently* come ; these delays had no bounds, and this *little while* ran out to a long time." It happened in the meantime that one Pontitianus, an African,

who had an honourable employment in the Emperor's court, and was a very religious man, came one day to pay a visit to Austin and Alipius ; and finding a book of St. Paul's Epistles lying on the table, took occasion to speak to them of the life of St. Antony, and was surprised to find that his name had been to that hour unknown to them. They were astonished to hear of miracles so well attested, done so lately in the Catholic Church, and did not know before Pontitianus mentioned it that there was a monastery full of fervent servants of God without the walls of that very city where they lived, under the care of St. Ambrose. Pontitianus, seeing them very attentive to him, discoursed long upon this subject, and related that, whilst the court was at Triers, one afternoon, when the Emperor was entertained with public sports in the circus, he and three others went out to walk in the gardens near the city, he with one companion going one way, and the other two another ; and that these two happened to light upon a little cottage where dwelt certain servants of God, *poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of God*, and there they found a book in which was written the life of St. Antony. This life one of them began to read, and then to admire, and soon to be inflamed, and whilst he was yet reading to think of embracing the same kind of life ; for he was one of those who were called agents in the Emperor's service, whose business it was to collect taxes, make provisions for the court, and execute particular commissions by order of the Emperor or the Prefect of the Prætorium. Then suddenly filled with holy love and zeal, and a sober shame, and angry at himself, he cast his eyes upon his friend, and said to him, "Tell me, I pray, with all the pains we take, what doth our ambition aspire to ? what is it we seek and propose to ourselves ? Can we have any greater hopes in the court than to arrive at the friendship and favour of the Emperor ? And when this is obtained, what is there in it that is not brittle and full of dangers ? Through how many dangers do we ascend to this greater danger ? And how long will it last ? But behold, if I please, I become this moment the friend and favourite of God, and such I remain for ever." He turned his eyes again to the book, labouring in the inward conflict of his mind, and in the throes of a new life. In the meantime his heart was interiorly changed, and entirely emptied, and disengaged from the world ; he often fetched deep sighs as he went on reading, till his soul being wholly subdued by divine grace, he took a firm resolution that moment to enter upon a better course. "I have now," said he, "bid a final adieu to that our former hope, and am fully resolved to have no other pursuit but that of serving God. I begin from this very hour, in this very place. If you do not

imitate my retreat, do not obstruct my resolution." The other answered, that he would constantly adhere to his companion in so noble a warfare, for so high a reward. By this time Pontitianus and the other that had walked with him came to the same place, and put them in mind of returning home; but on hearing the resolution they had taken, they congratulated with them, and took leave of them, recommending themselves to their prayers. Both of them that remained in the cottage had been contracted to young ladies, who, as soon as they heard of this, consecrated their virginity in like manner to God.

This example and the discourse of Pontitianus had a powerful influence on the mind of St. Austin, and raised strong emotions in his breast, and he saw, as it were in a glass, his own filthiness and deformity, which caused him to loathe and abhor himself. In his former half-desires of conversion he had been accustomed to beg of God the grace of continency, but so as to be at the same time in some measure afraid of being heard too soon. "In the first dawning of my youth," says he, "I had begged of Thee chastity, but by halves, miserable wretch that I am; and I said, *Give me chastity and continency, but not yet a while*; for I was afraid lest Thou shouldst hear me too soon, and presently heal me of the disease of concupiscence, which I rather wished to have satiated than extinguished." Now he began to be ashamed and grieved to find his will had been so weak and divided; and no sooner was Pontitianus departed but he applied himself to Alipius in these words: "What are we doing who thus suffer the unlearned to start up, and seize heaven by force, whilst we with all our knowledge remain behind cowardly and heartless, and wallow still in the mire? What! because they have outstripped us and are gone before, are we ashamed to follow them? and is it not more shameful not even to follow them?" This he spoke with an unusual and extraordinary tone of voice, and his countenance was entirely altered; and he immediately got up and went into the garden. Alipius was astonished, not so much at his words, as at his pathetical manner of expressing them, and at the violent commotion in which he saw him labouring within his breast, and he followed him step by step into the garden.

They sat down at as great a distance as they could from the house, and there Austin groaned in bitter indignation against himself. We cannot better describe the tempest and furious agitation of his soul at that time than in his own words. "I now was enraged at myself," says he, "that I did not courageously at once resolve on what my reason convinced me to be so good and necessary to be done. I would, and I would not; I was, as it were, divided

between myself and myself; I shook my chain with which I was fettered, but could not be released from it. Thou, O Lord, continuedst to press sore upon me in my interior, with a severe mercy, redoubling the stripes of fear and shame lest I should leave off struggling, and my chain should grow again, and bind me faster than ever. I said within myself, 'Come, let it now be done; let it be done this moment.' Neither yet did I do it quite, demurring still a while to die unto death, and live unto life. Trifles of trifles, and vanities, my old mistresses, hung about me, and pulling me by the garment of the flesh, softly whispered to me, 'Wilt thou then forsake us? From this moment shall we be no more with thee for ever? Wilt thou never hereafter taste those delights? From this moment shall this or that be no more allowed thee for ever?' Now I heard these suggestions not as boldly confronting me, and opposing me to my face, but as muttering behind me, and secretly pulling me that I should look back upon them; and they somewhat retarded me, whilst I delayed to snatch myself away, and shake them off, and to spring forward whither I was called; and the violence of evil custom said to me, 'Dost thou think that thou canst live without these or those delights?' But the chaste dignity of continency enticed me to come forward, and, to encourage me to fear nothing, stretched forth to receive and embrace me her loving arms full of crowds of good examples. There were great numbers of boys and girls, young men and maidens, grave widows and old women virgins, persons of all ages; and in all these continency was the fruitful mother of chaste delights from Thee, O Lord, her heavenly Bridegroom; and she laughed at me with a kind of derision by way of drawing me on, as if she had said, 'And art not thou able to do what these men and these maidens do? Or are these able in themselves, and not in the Lord their God? He gave me to them. Why standest thou upon thyself, and therefore dost not stand? Throw thyself upon Him, and fear nothing. He will receive and will heal thee.'"

Austin was exceedingly ashamed that he should still hear the whispers of those fooleries; and the Holy Ghost, inviting him to chastity, seemed again to say to him, "Stop thine ears against those unclean monsters. They tell thee of delights, but not as the law of the Lord thy God." This mighty tempest increasing every moment in his soul, when deep consideration had gathered together all his misery before his view, a very great shower of tears flowed from his eyes, and conceiving solitude to be more fit for weeping, he withdrew from Alipius, who beheld him with great amazement. He removed to a great distance from his friend, that his presence might not disturb him, and he threw himself down under a fig-tree,

and there gave free vent to a torrent of tears. He cried out to God to this purpose, "How long, O Lord! wilt Thou be angry for ever? Remember not my past iniquities." And perceiving himself still held back by them, he cast forth miserable complaints, and reproached himself, saying, "How long? How long? To-morrow, to-morrow? Why not now? Why does not this hour put an end to my filthiness?" These complaints he uttered, and he wept with most bitter contrition of heart, when on a sudden he heard, as it were, the voice of a child from a neighbouring house, which singing, frequently repeated these two words in Latin, *Tolle Lege; Tolle Lege*. That is: "Take up and read. Take up and read." Presently his countenance being changed, he began to consider whether in any kind of play, children were wont to sing any such words; nor could he call to mind that he had ever heard the like. Whereupon he rose up suppressing the torrent of his tears, and he interpreted the voice to be nothing less than a divine admonition, remembering that St. Antony was converted from the world to a life of retirement by hearing an oracle of the gospel read. Therefore he returned in haste to the place where Alipius was sitting, for he had left there the book of St. Paul's Epistles. He caught it up, opened it, and read in silence the following words on which he first cast his eyes: *Not in revelling and drunkenness, not in chamberings and impurities, not in strifes and envy; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences*. He would read no farther, nor was there need; for at the end of these lines, as it were, by a new gleam of confidence and security streaming into his heart, all the darkness of his former hesitation was dispelled. He shut the book, having put a mark upon the place, and with a calm and serene countenance told Alipius what had passed in his soul. Alipius desired to see the passage he had read, and found the next words to be: *He that is weak in faith, take unto you*, which he applied to himself. Being of virtuous inclinations, and a sweet disposition, he readily joined his friend in his good resolution. They immediately went in, and told this good news to St. Monica, who was transported with joy. She had followed her son into Italy, and came to him at Milan soon after he had abandoned the Manichæan heresy and before he embraced the Catholic faith, for which happiness she continued still to pray, and for his perfect conversion from vice and irregularities, till she saw both accomplished.

He formerly thought, under the tyranny of evil habits, "that without sensual pleasures, life itself would seem to him no life but a pain." And when he became a Catholic and first entertained

thoughts of entering upon a virtuous course, he designed to take a wife, thinking it impossible for him otherwise to overcome the passion of lust. Alipius, who had never dragged the chain of that passion, wondered at his slavery; and from wondering was once in danger of desiring to make a trial, and to be drawn towards the same slavery; but the divine mercy preserved him. St. Monica had provided a suitable match for her son, and the choice was extremely agreeable to him; but, when his heart was entirely converted to God, he resolved to embrace a state of perfect continency, and found by experience the truth of that maxim of Seneca: "It is not because things are difficult that we dare not aim at them; but they appear difficult because we have not courage to undertake them;" and that of two other heathens: "Who sets about hath half performed the deed." Our illustrious convert, pouring forth his heart in humble thanksgiving and holy jubilation before God, who had mercifully broken the chains of his slavery, cried out, "How sweet on a sudden was it become to me to be without the sweets of those toys! and what I was before so much afraid to lose, I now cast from me with joy; for Thou hast expelled them from me who art the true and sovereign sweetness; Thou expelledst them, and camest in Thyself instead of them, sweeter than any pleasure whatever, but not to flesh and blood; brighter than any light whatever, but more interior than any secret; higher than any dignity whatever, but not to those that are high in their own conceit. Now was my mind free from the gnawing cares of the ambition of honour, of the acquisition of riches, and of weltering in pleasures; and my infant tongue began to lisp to Thee, my Lord God, my true Honour, my Riches, and my Salvation." In the process of this saint's wonderful conversion we cannot but admire the power of divine grace, that no one may despair; the victory indeed over evil habits is not purchased without much sorrow, pain, and contradiction to corrupt nature; yet let the sinner take courage; this conflict will at length be converted into happy liberty and joy; but let no sinner attempt so great a work with faint endeavours. It must cost many tears, and a kind of martyrdom. How watchful and strenuous ought everyone to be against the first spark of vice, which, if admitted, soon grows a devouring flame, and a dreadful tyranny. This company, this fond affection, this secret envy appears light at first, but nothing is so rapid or so violent as the progress of vice.

"He that once sins, like him that slides on ice,  
Goes swiftly down the slippery ways of vice:  
Though conscience checks him, yet those rubs gone o'er,  
He slides on smoothly, and looks back no more."



The conversion of St. Austin happened in the year 386, the thirty-second of his age, in the month of August or September. At the same time he determined to quit his school and profession of teaching rhetoric ; but deferred the execution of this resolution three weeks, till the vacation, which was in the time of the vintage. Then he retired to a country house at Cassiacum, near Milan, which his friend Verecundus (a professor of grammar in that city, who was then a heathen, but was baptized soon after) yielded to him and his friends ; for he was accompanied in his retreat by his mother St. Monica, his brother Navigius, his son Adeodatus, St. Alipius his chief confidant, Trigetius, and Licentius, two of his scholars, and his cousins Lastidianus and Rusticus. Here he wholly employed himself in prayer and study, which exercises he made admirably conducive to each other ; for his study was a kind of prayer by the devotion of his mind therein. Here he strenuously laboured, by the practice of austere penance, by the strictest watchfulness over his heart and senses, and by most fervent and humble prayer, to subdue his passions, to purify his affections, to disengage them perfectly from the inordinate love of creatures, and to prepare himself for the grace of leading a new life in Christ, and becoming in Him a new creature. He wept over the wounds and spiritual miseries of his soul, and he cried out with the greatest earnestness to his Saviour, begging Him to stretch forth His merciful and omnipotent hand, and heal him. Against his domestic enemy he had recourse to God, praying : "My whole hope is in nothing else but in Thy exceeding great mercy, O Lord my God. Thou commandest me continency. Give me what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt. *I know that no man can be continent, unless God give it.*" He particularly prayed for purity of heart, and the most perfect divine love, confessing that he ought to devote to the love of God his whole strength and all his powers every moment of his life ; he desired to redouble his earnestness in it, to repair, had it been possible, the precious time he had already lost. "Too late," said he, "have I loved thee, O beauty so ancient, and so new ! too late have I loved thee. Thou wast with me, and I was not with thee. Thou hast called, thou hast cried out, and hast pierced my deafness. Thou hast touched me, and I am all inflamed with the desire of thy embraces. He loveth thee less who loveth anything else with thee which he loveth not for thee. O love, which always burnest, and art never extinguished ! true charity, my God, set me all on fire."

This ardent lover of God, after his conversion, fulfilled the character of the true penitent in loving God so much the more fervently as more had been forgiven him, and as the divine mercy

had raised him from greater miseries, on which account he is usually represented by painters with the symbol of a flaming heart. The foundation of this divine charity, and of all other perfect virtues, he laid in the most profound humility, the most sincere sentiments of which virtue his writings breathe. In the tenth book of his "Confessions," he mentions that he made it his principal care and study to watch against the snares of pride and vain-glory, which there is danger of a man's seeking in the very contempt of vain-glory itself; he also laboured vigorously to restrain under the strictest government his tongue, his eyes, ears, and his other senses, especially that of the taste. Of this last he writes: "Drunkenness is far from me: Thou wilt grant in Thy mercy that it never approach me; but gluttony sometimes steals upon Thy servant: Thou wilt have mercy that it may be removed from me. A soldier of the heavenly camp said: *I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.* Strengthen Thou me, that I also may be able. I have heard another praying: *Take Thou from me the concupiscences of the belly.* Who is he, O Lord, that is not sometimes carried a little out of the bounds of necessity? Whoever he be, he is great; let him magnify Thy Name; but I am not such an one, because I am a sinful man." For this he earnestly implores the healing mercy of Christ. This saint had learned the maxim of the Gospel and of St. Paul, earnestly inculcated by St. John Climacus, St. Isidore, and all masters of a spiritual life, that all carnal passions are to be cut off, and the soul prepared to receive the impression of heavenly affections, by great abstinence and sobriety; for, "as a spring of water, cut into many streams, diffuses itself over a whole garden, and clothes every bed with green herbs, so, if the appetite of gluttony spread itself through the veins of the heart, it will sow over it a thick grove of many lusts, and make the soul a dwelling-place of wild beasts," says St. Basil. St. Austin had contracted in the world a pernicious habit of swearing. After his conversion, exhorting others to refrain from that horrible crime, he set before them his own example in what manner he had overcome an execrable habit of that vice. "We also were formerly engaged," says he, "in that most base and criminal custom: we once swore; but from the time that we began to serve God, and understood the heinous evil of that sin, we were seized with vehement fear, and by fear we restrained that inveterate custom. You say you do it by habit; but above all things watch over yourselves that you may never swear. A more inveterate custom requires the greater attention. The tongue is a slippery member, and is easily moved. Be, then, the more watchful to curb it. If you refrain to-day, you will find it more easy to refrain

to-morrow. I speak from experience. If your victory be not complete to-morrow, it will at least be more easy by the custom of the former day. The mischief dies in three days. And we shall rejoice in our great fruit, and in our deliverance from such an evil." In another sermon he says: "I know it is difficult to break your habit; it is what I found myself; but by fearing God we broke our custom of swearing. When I read His law, I was struck with fear. I strove against my custom; I invoked God my Helper, and He afforded me His succour not to swear. Now nothing is more easy to me than not to swear."

St. Austin, in this retirement, usually, after morning prayers, took a walk out with his friends, whilst St. Monica took care of the housekeeping, though she had a great share in their domestic literary conferences. In them it was his main design to raise by degrees the thoughts of his friends in all their studies from sensible to spiritual things. How careful he was to teach them in all things to die to themselves, appears from the following instance. In a disputation, Trigetius advanced something that did him no honour, and he desired that it might not be committed to writing. Licentius, his antagonist, insisted that it ought to be recorded as a monument of his victory. St. Austin burst into a flood of tears to see them still enslaved to a petty passion of vanity, and reproved them for their fault, praying that God would heal this wound of their hearts. Whereupon the two youths entreated that the whole contest should be left on record, each desiring this for the sake of his own confusion. St. Austin testifies, that the love of riches or honours seemed then quite extinguished in his breast; that he was never tempted to desire any food which he had interdicted himself, but feared intemperance sometimes in what he ate; that he was determined to shun above all things the company of women; nevertheless, he still felt temptations to that shameful passion to which he had been so long enslaved; but as often as they began to molest him, he was covered with extreme confusion at himself, shed abundance of tears, and cast himself earnestly into the arms of God, begging Him to heal him.

While he was employing himself in his solitude in the exercises of holy penance and prayer, God, as he tells us, "by His grace, brought down the pride of his spirit, and laid low the lofty mountains of his vain thoughts, by bringing him daily to a greater sense of that misery and bondage from which he was delivered." He read the psalms of David with wonderful devotion, and the words contained in them were like fiery darts, which first gave healthful wounds to his soul, and then communicated to it a divine sweetness, and a healing virtue. By these affectionate words he was

influenced with the divine love, and he burned with a desire of reciting them if he could, all the world over, to abate the swelling pride of mankind. He was particularly affected with the fourth psalm—*Cum Invocarem*—of which he has given us a very pious paraphrase in his “Confessions;” and he could not but censure the Manichees as blind and miserable, who deprived themselves of the advantages of those divine hymns. Deplorable, in like manner, is the misfortune of those who repeat these moving acts of adoration, love, thanksgiving, and praise, without the least attention to God, and who often have in their hearts sentiments quite opposite to those they have in their mouths; whose prayers are hypocrisy; whose promises to God are false and treacherous; whose affections are all pride and presumption; whilst in words they make protestations of humility and contrition. The divine maledictions against the lovers of vanity and iniquity, which they recite, fall upon their own heads: pretending to pray, they rather mock God, because they have not the interior spirit of prayer. St. Austin, being penetrated with compunction and love, found these divine hymns sweet with heavenly honey, and discovered in every word a sacred light. In reading them, he was all on fire, and found not what to do to cure those that were spiritually deaf and dead, one of whom he had been. Like the psalmist, he pined away with zeal, earnestly desiring to see those that are enemies of their own souls, and of the divine truth, open their eyes and their hearts to behold its pure light, and to taste its incomparable sweetness. About this time, he happened one day to be violently afflicted with the tooth-ache, which hourly increased, and grew so insupportable, that he was not able to speak; whereupon, by writing in wax, he desired his friends there present to join in prayer for him to the God of all manner of health, spiritual and corporal. He knelt down to prayer with them; and, as soon as they began to make their humble addresses to God, the pain wonderfully ceased. He was much amazed at this extraordinary manifestation of the divine power and goodness, and greatly confirmed in his hope that God, whose beck all things obey, and who is able at once to raise us from the deepest misery, would wash away the guilt of all his sins in the laver of baptism, in which he was shortly to be immersed.

The time being come when St. Austin was to enter his name among the Competentes, in order to prepare himself for baptism, he came to Milan in the beginning of Lent in 387. He certainly was not behindhand in fervour to St. Alipius, who, as our saint tells us, disposed himself to receive this sacrament with extraordinary devotion, and subdued his body with great resolution,

walking barefoot during winter, which is very cold in that part of Italy near the Alps, especially if we compare it to Africa. St. Austin was baptized by St. Ambrose on Easter Eve in 387, together with Alipius and his son Adeodatus, who was about fifteen years of age. Our saint had no sooner received the sacrament of regeneration but he found himself freed from all anxiety concerning his past life. Nor was he ever satiated with the wonderful sweetness he enjoyed in considering the depth of the divine counsels concerning the salvation of man. He was much moved, and wept exceedingly in hearing the psalms and sacred hymns sung in the churches, and God sometimes admitted him into a very uncommon affection of devotion and communicated to him much interior spiritual sweetness. He was at Milan when the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius were discovered, and was witness to certain miracles that were wrought on persons touching them. Soon after this, desiring to devote himself entirely to the divine service in a life of solitude, he resolved to return into Africa. Accordingly he went, on his way thither, from Milan to Rome, together with his mother and several of his friends, where they continued from the month of April to the September following. Going thence to Ostia with an intention to embark there, he lost St. Monica, who died in that seaport before the 13th of November in 387.

Upon this accident Austin went back to Rome, and stayed there till the following year. He landed at Carthage about September in 388, and there lodged for some time in the house of a virtuous lawyer, named Innocent, and was witness to his miraculous cure of a dangerous fistula, whilst the best surgeons of Carthage and Alexandria were preparing to perform a dangerous incision, a sinus which was deeper than the rest of the sore having escaped several operations which he had already undergone. The patient prayed with many tears that God would mercifully preserve him from this danger, and Saturninus, Bishop of Uzalis, Aurelius, who was afterward Bishop of Carthage, and several other pious clergymen who often visited him during his illness, and were then present, falling on their knees, joined him in his devout prayer. St. Austin was one of the company, and relates how, the physicians coming the next day, he that was to perform the operation took off the bandages, and to the astonishment of all who had seen the wound before, found it entirely healed, and covered with a very firm scar. St. Austin made a very short stay at Carthage, making all possible haste to retire to his house in the country, with certain devout friends. There he lived almost three years entirely disengaged from all temporal concerns, serving God in fasting, prayer,

good works, meditating upon His law day and night, and instructing others by his discourses and books. He settled his paternal estate on the Church of Tagasté, only on condition that the bishop should furnish him a yearly stipend out of it for his and his son's maintenance among their religious brethren. All things were in common in their house, and were distributed according to every one's necessities, no one among them having the least thing at his own disposal. St. Austin reserved nothing which he could call his own, having alienated the very house in which he lived. The religious Order of the hermits of St. Austin dates its foundation from this epoch, in 388.

When St. Austin was ordained priest, and removed to Hippo, many of his religious brethren followed him thither, and with the assistance of his bishop, Valerius, he founded there a new monastery the monks of which St. Paulinus saluted when he wrote to our saint in 394. Out of it came forth nine eminent bishops, who by their learning, and the sanctity of their manners, were so many bright ornaments of the Church of Africa, namely, St. Alipius of Tagasté, St. Evodius of Uzalis, St. Possidius of Calama, Profuturus, and Fortunatus of Cirtha, Severus of Milevis, Urbanus of Sicca, Boniface, and Peregrinus.

St. Austin instituted a nunnery of his order, after he was promoted to the episcopal dignity; and his sister, who renounced the world in her widowhood, was chosen the first abbess. After her death, Felicitas, the oldest amongst the nuns, was pitched upon to succeed her; but some demanding another person for their superior, a division happened among them, which St. Austin stifled in its birth, by two letters addressed to Felicitas, Rusticus (the priest who assisted the community), and all the nuns, whom he strongly exhorted to union, perfect regularity, fasting, public prayer, strict religious poverty, and ready obedience to the abbess, and to the priest. In the second letter, he laid down a regular body of monastic rules, which is adopted also by the men who regard him as the founder of their orders, both the Hermits and the Regular Canons, though each have added to it many particular constitutions. That it was received also by other religious men, soon after the death of St. Austin, appears by the rule of Tarnate, and by that of St. Cæsarius, in both which it is inserted, and by a manuscript copy at Corbie, above a thousand years old. The holy founder lays down the strictest rules of poverty, obedience, and modesty; he orders that no one ever steadfastly fix her eyes upon another, even of the same sex, this being a mark of immodesty and impudence; and he will have this fault to be always severely chastised, though with more mildness when the person

guilty is her own voluntary accuser. He recommends, above all things, perfect humility ; "for," as he says, "pride lies in wait about our good works, to destroy them ; and what does it avail to give our riches to the poor, and become poor ourselves, if the miserable soul becomes prouder by contemning wealth, than she was before by possessing it ?"

During the saint's retirement, his ingenious son, Adeodatus, in the fervour of the sacrifice he had made of himself to God, passed to a better life. St. Austin applied himself to pious meditation, and the study of the sacred writings. Though in his youth, whilst his ears could only bear the Ciceronian purity and elegance of the Latin tongue, and his mind was captivated and led away by the world and error, he was alienated from reading the Holy-Scriptures by a seeming meanness of the style, yet, when he began to be more conversant in them, and his judgment was riper, he confessed his mistake. He acknowledges, in his books "*Of the Christian Doctrine*," that the Prophets and St. Paul surpass in deep sense everything that is sublime in the heathen orators, that this apostle is most powerfully persuasive, and that the torrent of his eloquence must be perceived by the most inattentive reader. He observes this difference between him and the greatest profane orators, that they studied the ornaments of eloquence, whereas his wisdom never sought after them, but they offered themselves, and naturally followed his wisdom. Where he rejects worldly oratory, and declares that his preaching is not founded upon the persuasive language of human wisdom and learning, this he does with a noble simplicity, in which there is a more true sublime than in the highest strokes of art.

St. Austin had enjoyed his solitude near Tagasté almost three years, when a person of consideration and probity, one of the Emperor's agents at Hippo Regius, a maritime town not far from Tagasté, desired very much to converse with him at leisure about the state of his soul. The saint carefully avoided going to any cities in which the sees were vacant, for fear of being chosen to the episcopal dignity ; but there being then a bishop at Hippo, he went thither on this occasion without suspecting any danger. Valetius, bishop of that city, had mentioned to his people the necessity of ordaining a priest for the service of his church. One day, when St. Austin was come into the church, they laid hands on him, and presented him to Valerius, desiring, with great earnestness and loud cries, that he might be forthwith ordained priest. St. Austin burst into tears, considering the great dangers that threatened him in that charge ; but was obliged in the end to acquiesce, and was ordained priest about the end of the year 390.

The disorders of his youth would have been a perpetual disqualification or irregularity had they happened after his baptism ; but from that time he was become a new man, and was then more conspicuous for his piety than for his great learning. Our new priest being recovered from his surprise, employed his friends to beg of Valerius some respite, in order to prepare himself in solitude for the exercise of his charge. He made the same request himself by an excellent letter, which tacitly condemns the presumption and rashness of those who, without a holy dread, intrude themselves into the ministry. He puts his bishop in mind, that "there is nothing in the world more easy or agreeable than the office of a bishop, priest, or deacon, if it be performed in a slight, careless, and complying manner ; but nothing is more miserable in itself, or more criminal and unjust in the sight of God. On the other side, nothing in this life is more difficult, laborious, or dangerous than this office ; but nothing more blessed in the sight of God, if it be discharged in the manner our Great Leader commandeth." He says, that though he was formerly persuaded of this truth, he now felt it much more than he had imagined at a distance, and he feared that the Lord had called him into a tempestuous sea to correct him, and to chastise his sins. "Oh, my father Valerius," said he, "do you command me then to perish ? Where is your charity ? Do you love me ? Do you love your Church ? I am sure you love both me and your Church. Many things are wanting to me for the discharge of this employment, which are not to be attained but, as our Lord directs us, by asking, seeking, and knocking ; that is, by praying, reading, and weeping." Valerius seems to have granted him this respite till the following Easter ; for his first sermons coincide with that time. This prelate, who was a Grecian, and had, moreover, an impediment in speaking, appointed St. Austin to preach to the people in his own presence, as was customary for bishops to do in the East, but, till that time, was unusual in the West. However, Valerius continued to preach sometimes himself. Austin desiring to live still in a monastery, Valerius gave him his own gardens, which were contiguous to the church, where the citizens built him a house for his monks. This is not to be confounded with the regular community of clerks, which, after he was bishop, he established in his episcopal palace. Knowing that the instruction of the flock was the principal duty of the pastoral charge, he from that time never interrupted the course of his sermons till his death. We have near four hundred extant, though several were not wrote by him, but copied by others, as he delivered them. They are not regular orations, composed of all



their parts ; but familiar discourses, spoken without much preparation. In them he barely proposes the truth with agreeable expressions, and impresses it with some smart thoughts. This kind of eloquence is much inferior to that of the Greek fathers of the same age ; but it agreed with the genius of his hearers, who received such discourses with great acclamations and applause, and were frequently moved by them to tears.

St. Austin perfectly understood all the essential rules of eloquence. Instructing sacred orators, he tells us, that a discourse must be simple and natural, that art must not appear in it, and that, if it be too fine and elaborate, it puts the hearers upon their guard. He speaks very well of the necessity of being plain and familiar, though everything that is said should have a suitable dignity, especially when religion is the subject. He distinguishes three kinds of speaking : *submissively*, in an humble, familiar way ; *mildly*, in an engaging, soft, insinuating manner, to make people love the truth ; and *nobly*, in a lofty, vehement strain, when we would captivate men, and rescue them from the dominion of their passions. This sublime kind he would have rather full of the most pathetic emotions, than florid or adorned with embellishments of speech. But a speaker who follows the impulse of his thoughts studies no beauties of elocution, though he naturally uses such as rise from the subject itself. Though the Latin tongue, in his age, was not of the Augustan standard, all impartial judges must allow that he had a great talent for persuasion. He writes with infinite penetration, is full of noble notions and sentiments, and expresses himself in a pathetic insinuating manner. He knew the heart of man entirely well, and reasoned generally with great force. He indeed often, in his moral discourses, takes passages of the Scripture in an allegorical sense, which is always arbitrary, and rather serves for illustration than for proof, in which he followed Origen, the Therapeuts, and latter Jews. On this account the discourses of St. Chrysostom and the comments of St. Jerom are, in general, more useful, as to the application of the sacred writings, in the genuine literal sense.

St. Austin fell into allegorical interpretations by example, and for the opportunity of introducing such moral instructions as he judged most necessary for his people. As for certain fashionable defects of eloquence in his time, this great man was sensible of them ; but, having higher views than the common rules of rhetoric, he conformed himself to the prevailing taste of the age he lived in, that he might the better insinuate the truths of religion into the minds of the people, by engaging them to hear the Word of God with pleasure ; and, in his discourses, though popular, he is always

sublime. Fenelon mentions two instances to show the wonderful influence which his pathetic eloquence had upon the minds of the people, an influence which appears more wonderful than Cicero's victory over the determined resolution and indignation of Cæsar, and which the most florid discourses would never have had, how much soever they had pleased the ears, and excited the applause and admiration of his audience. The first is related by the saint himself in a letter to his friend Alipius. The custom of celebrating the Agapæ, or love feasts, in the churches themselves, or in the cemeteries, upon the graves of the martyrs or others, and this often with intemperance, was an abuse which St. Austin, by a strenuous letter, exhorted Aurelius, Archbishop of Carthage, to procure to be extirpated by an order of a council. The people at Hippo would not be restrained from these riotous rejoicings on festivals, which they pretended to justify by the authority of their ancestors. St. Austin, who was then a priest at Hippo, read to them the most vehement threats and reproaches of the prophets. Then he earnestly besought his hearers, by the ignominies and sorrows, by the cross, by the blood of Christ, not to destroy themselves; to have pity on him who spoke to them with so much affection, and to show some regard to their venerable old bishop, who, out of tenderness for them, had commanded him to instruct them in the truth. "I did not make them weep," says he, "by first weeping over them; but, while I preached, their tears prevented mine. I own that then I could not restrain myself. After we had wept together, I began to entertain great hopes of their amendment." He had the satisfaction of seeing his people reformed from that very day. The other example is still more remarkable, and the account of it we have also from the saint. It was a barbarous custom at Cæsarea, in Mauritania (now called Tenez, a town subject to the Dey of Algiers), for relations, brothers, fathers, and sons, being divided into two parties, to fight publicly with throwing stones at one another for several days at a certain time of the year. This combat was a spectacle with which the people were extremely delighted, and to draw them from it was judged a very difficult enterprise. "According to the utmost of my abilities," says St. Austin, "I used the most pathetic expressions to extirpate such a cruel inveterate custom from their minds and manners. I thought I had done nothing while I only heard their acclamations, and raised their delight and admiration. They were not persuaded so long as they could amuse themselves with giving applause to the discourse which they heard. But their tears gave me some hopes, and declared that their minds were changed. When I saw them weep, I believed this horrible custom

would be abolished. It is now eight years ago and upwards, and, by the grace of God, they have been restrained from attempting any such practice."

In the sermons which fill the fifth tome of his works, this father inculcates chiefly assiduous meditation on the last things; for "if the Lord's day (or last judgment) may be at some distance, is thy day (or death) afar off?" He enforces the necessity of doing penance. "For sin must be punished either by the penitent sinner, or by God, his avenging Judge; and God, Who has promised pardon to the penitent sinner, has nowhere promised him who delays his conversion a to-morrow to do penance in." He frequently speaks of the obligation and advantages of alms-deeds, and takes notice that the neglect of this precept is the cause of the damnation of the greatest number that perish, seeing Christ mentions only this crime in the sentence both of the elect and the reprobate at the last day. He often mentions purgatory, and strongly recommends prayer and sacrifices for the repose of the faithful departed. He speaks of holy images of St. Stephen, of Christ, and SS. Peter and Paul, of Abraham sacrificing his son; also of the respect due to the sign of the Cross. He relates miracles wrought by it, and by the relics of martyrs. He often speaks of the honour due to the martyrs, as in most of his sixty-nine sermons "On the Saints," but he remarks that we build altars and offer sacrifices to God alone, not to any martyrs. He addresses himself to St. Cyprian, and other martyrs, to implore their intercession. "All the martyrs," says he, "that are with Christ intercede for us. Their prayers never cease, so long as we continue our sighs." St. Austin preached always in Latin, though among the peasants of the country, in certain parts of his diocese, some understood only the Punic tongue, whom he found it difficult to furnish with priests. To his sermons may also be reduced the greatest part of his comments on the Holy Scripture.

St. Austin preached constantly, sometimes every day, and sometimes twice on the same day. He did not desist even when he was so weak as to be scarce able to speak; but he seemed to gather strength in preaching, and his ardour for the salvation of souls made him forget the pains of sickness. Wherever he went, even in the dioceses of other bishops, he was constantly required to feed the people with the bread of life, and was always heard with great eagerness; his sermons were received with universal applause; and, according to the custom of that age, with clappings and acclamations; but what alone gave him pleasure was the wonderful fruit which they never failed to produce. Possidius mentions, among other instances of extraordinary conversions, that

the holy doctor, by making a sudden digression from his subject to speak against the Manichæan heresy, upon one Firmus, a famous rich and zealous patron of that sect, coming into the church, he gained him upon the spot to Christ. After the sermon, Firmus came and cast himself at the saint's feet, and, bathed in tears, confessed his errors. He was afterward advanced to the priesthood.

Valerius, finding himself sinking under the weight of his years and infirmities, and fearing lest his Church should be deprived of Austin by some other city demanding him for their bishop, procured privately the consent of St. Aurelius, Archbishop of Carthage, and the approbation of his own people, and the neighbouring prelates of his province of Numidia, to make him his coadjutor in the bishopric. St. Austin strenuously opposed the project, but was compelled to acquiesce in the will of Heaven, and was consecrated in December, 395, having in November entered on the forty-second year of his age. Valerius died the year following.

St. Austin in this new dignity was obliged to live in the episcopal house, both on account of hospitality and for the exercise of his functions. But he engaged all the priests, deacons, and subdeacons that lived with him, to renounce all property, and to engage themselves to embrace the rule he established there; nor did he admit any to holy orders who did not bind themselves to the same manner of life. Herein he was imitated by several other bishops, and this was the original of Regular Canons, in imitation of the Apostles. Possidius tells us that the saint's clothes and furniture were modest, but decent—not slovenly. No silver was used in his house, except spoons. His dishes were of earth, wood, or marble. He exercised hospitality, but his table was frugal; besides herbs and pulse, some flesh was served up for strangers and the sick; nor was wine wanting; but a quantity was regulated, which no guest was ever allowed to exceed. At table he loved rather reading or literary conferences than secular conversation, and to warn his guests to shun detraction, he had the following distich written upon his table:

“This board allows no vile detractor place,  
Whose tongue shall charge the absent with disgrace.”

If any fell into that vice in his presence, he warned them of it, without distinction of persons, and to show his dislike, suddenly rose, and withdrew into his chamber, as Possidius had seen him frequently do. All his clerks who lived with him ate at the same table, and were clothed out of the common stock with himself.

He suffered no woman ever to converse in his house ; not even his sister (who was superior of a nunnery), nor his two nieces, who served God with her. He said, though no sinister suspicion could arise from the conversation of a sister or niece, yet they would be sometimes attended or visited by others of their sex. He never would speak to any woman without having some of his clerks by, and being in sight of them, though the business were never so secret. He committed to overseers among his clergy the entire care of his temporals, and took their accounts at the end of the year. To shun whatever might distract his mind, he entrusted to the management of others the building of the hospitals or churches which he erected. He never would receive for the poor any estates or presents which he was importuned to accept when the donation seemed a prejudice to an heir, or a disinheritance of a child. Nor could any age afford a greater example of perfect disinterestedness. He was aware how easily avarice creeps unperceived into the heart, and, like a moth, devours the best actions, no less than vanity, if it taints them with its venomous blast ; and he was continually upon his guard against himself, lest either of these contagious evils should infect his soul, and secretly entangle his affections. He employed whatever could be spared of the revenues of his Church in relieving the poor, as he had before given his own patrimony for their relief. Possidius says that he sometimes melted down part of the sacred vessels to redeem captives, in which he was authorised by the example of St. Ambrose. In several of his letters and sermons, mention is made of the custom he had prevailed upon his flock to establish of clothing all the poor of each parish once a year. He was not afraid sometimes to contract considerable debts to procure comfort and subsistence for the distressed. But his zeal and charity for the spiritual welfare of others seemed to have no bounds. " I desire not to be saved without you," said he to his people, like another Moses or St. Paul. " What shall I desire ? what shall I say ? why am I bishop ? why am I in the world, only to live in Jesus Christ ? but to live in Him with you. This is my passion, my honour, my glory, my joy, and riches."

There perhaps never was a man endowed by nature with a more affectionate and friendly soul than the great St. Austin ; but his tender and benevolent disposition was exceedingly heightened and improved by the nobler supernatural motive and most powerful influence of holy charity and religion, of which his letters, and the sequel of the history of his life, will furnish many examples. He conversed freely with infidels, and often invited them to his table ; but generally refused to eat with Christians whose conduct

was publicly scandalous and disorderly, and was severe in subjecting their crimes to canonical penance, and to the censures of the Church. He never wanted courage to oppose iniquity without respect of persons, though he never forgot the rules of charity, meekness, and good-breeding. Witness the manner in which he reproved one Romulus for the oppression of his poor vassals, and others. He complains that some sins were by custom become so common, that though he condemned them, he durst not oppose the torrent too violently, for fear of doing much harm and no good, should he attempt to extirpate them by excommunication ; yet he trembled lest he should be rendered culpable by remissness. Whereupon he cried out, "Woe to the sins of men who only fear those crimes that are rare ! But as to those that are common, though so grievous that they shut the gates of heaven, through the force of custom we are constrained to tolerate them, and by tolerating fear we may ourselves become guilty. May it please Thy mercy, O Lord, that we may not be condemned as not having done all that might be done to hinder them." Prayer and advice were the means by which he sought directions in such difficulties. Erasmus, considering his immense labours and indefatigable zeal for the salvation of souls, says of him, "In the epistles and other writings of this holy man, how manifestly do his piety, charity, meekness, gentleness, kindness, love of concord, and zeal for the house of God appear ! What doth he not endeavour ! How doth he labour ! How doth he turn and change himself into all shapes ! If there appear the least hopes of drawing one pagan to Christ, or one heretic to the Church, how doth he condescend, how doth he, as St. Paul says, *change his voice* ! How anxiously doth he intercede for those wicked Circumcellions who deserved more than one death ! Who ever solicited more for his friends than he doth for his enemies ? With what pangs doth he bring forth all to Christ ! How diligently doth he endeavour to save all, and lose none ! How grievously is he afflicted when any scandal ariseth ! Methinks I see the hen in the Gospel, solicitous and anxious to gather and cherish her chickens under her wings. In him alone, as in a mirror, may be seen a perfect bishop, such a one as St. Paul describeth." Causes being at that time often carried by appeal from the secular courts to the bishops, St. Austin was obliged sometimes to hear them the whole day fasting, which he did diligently, affectionately, and patiently, making use of every means to reconcile the parties amicably, and, whether they were Christians or infidels, to draw them to God ; but he complained of the distraction of this charge, which only charity made supportable to him. He scarce ever made any other

visits than to orphans, widows, the sick, and other distressed persons. He practised the three maxims of St. Ambrose : first, never to make matches for any persons, lest they should prove unhappy ; secondly, never to persuade any to be soldiers ; and, thirdly, never to go to feasts in his own city, lest they should become frequent, and he should be drawn into intemperance, and much loss of his precious time.

The epistles of great men are generally interesting and curious, both for illustrating their history, and giving the genuine portraiture of their mind. Those of St. Austin are particularly so, not only on these accounts, but also for the importance of the subjects treated in them. Several are so many excellent and learned treatises, and contain many admirable instructions for the practice of perfect virtue. In them he mentions his own frequent indispositions and the habitual weakness of his constitution. In the thirty-eighth to Profuturus (n. 397), he says he was confined to his bed under violent pain, but adds, " Though I suffer, yet I am well, because I am as God would have me to be ; for when we will not what He wills, it is we that are in the fault, as He can neither do nor permit anything but what is just." In the thirty-sixth he answered Casulanus about the fast of Saturday, that the Church observes fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, because the Jews formed their conspiracy to put Christ to death on Wednesday, and executed it on Friday. As to Saturday, he bids him follow the custom of the place where he should be, according to the rule of St. Ambrose, who told his mother, " When I am here " (at Milan), " I do not fast upon Saturdays ; when I am at Rome, I fast upon that day." If the custom of the place be not uniform, as in many churches in Africa, he advises him to do as the bishop of the place should do or direct. He gives the same answer in his fifty-fourth to Januarius. He says in the same that they do well who communicate daily, provided it be done worthily, and with the humility of Zaccheus when he received Christ under his roof ; but that they are also to be commended who sometimes imitate the humble centurion, and set apart only Sundays and Saturdays, or certain other days, for communicating, in order to do it with greater devotion. He lays down this principle, that a custom universally received in the Church must be looked upon as settled by the Apostles, or by general council, as the annual celebrations of Easter, Pentecost, the Ascension, and Passion of Christ. He says, that though the faithful at first communicated after supper, the Apostles afterwards ordained that, out of reverence to so great a sacrament, all should communicate fasting.

In the fifty-fifth, to the same Januarius, he speaks of Lent and of other laws of the Church; but says, that certain rites and customs may be sometimes practised by particulars which are only tolerated by the Church, and may be sometimes such as are better rejected than observed. It would be tedious to mention all the important points of faith and discipline which he discusses in many of his epistles; but devout persons will find nothing more agreeable than the perfect maxims of Christian virtue which he inculcates. With what charity and tenderness does he comfort Crysinus under temporal losses and calamities, putting him in mind that God is our only good, and a good which can never fail us, if we study truly to belong to Him! If He suffers us to be afflicted in this world, it is only for our greater advantage. He explains the duties of a wife towards her husband in his letter to Eccidia, showing her that she was obliged to condescend and conform herself to the humour of her morose husband, not only in duties which she essentially owed him, but also in things indifferent; that she ought not to wear black clothes, seeing this gave him offence; and she might be humble in mind in rich and gay dress (provided it were modest, and not such as the apostle condemns) if he should insist upon her wearing such. He tells her she ought, in all things reasonable, to agree with her husband as to the manner of educating their son, and rather leave to him the chief care of it, when he required it. He severely chides her for having given goods and money to the poor without his tacit consent, and obliges her to ask his pardon for it, whether his unwillingness to allow her *extraordinary* charities proceeded from a just and prudent care to provide for their son, or from any imperfect motive. He exhorts her to gain him by meekness and charity, and to endeavour by all means to reclaim him from his adulteries and other vices, especially by praying for him. "Pray for him," says the saint, "and from the bottom of your heart. For tears are, as it were, the blood of a heart pierced with grief," etc. In like manner did he press upon husbands the respect, tender affection, and just condescension which they owe to their wives; and so with regard to other states.

The documents he gave to Proba are more general; Proba Falconia, the widow of Probus, who had been prefect of the prætorium and consul, in 371, withdrew into Africa with her mother-in-law, Juliana, and her daughter Demetrias, after Alaric the Goth had plundered Rome. This holy widow being sensible that assiduous prayer was her chief duty, desired St. Austin to send her some instructions in writing about the manner how she ought to pray. The saint told her she must learn to despise the world



and its pleasures, and sigh after the true happiness of divine grace and charity, which is to be the principal object of all our prayers ; that prayers must be made by the earnest cry of the heart, and ought to be without ceasing, by the continued burning desire of the soul seeking God ; secondly, by having regular hours for daily devotions ; and, thirdly, by frequently raising our hearts to God during all our actions with fervent aspirations, in imitation of the Egyptian monks. He gave her an exposition of the Lord's prayer, adding, that we are to recommend to God not only our spiritual, but also our corporal necessities, especially our health, that we may consecrate it to the divine service ; for without health all other temporal blessings avail us little ; but this and other temporal favours we must ask with resignation to the divine will, and with a view to our spiritual advantage, lest, in punishment of our impatience, God should give us them when they are pernicious to our souls, as He granted in anger the flesh meat which the Jews in the wilderness asked with murmuring, and at the same time visited them with the chastisement of their gluttony and rebellion ; whereas He refused to hear St. Paul because a trial was more expedient for him.

We have a remarkable instance of St. Austin's meekness and humility in his controversy with St. Jerom. The latter, in his exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, had explained the passage of his withstanding and blaming St. Peter for withdrawing himself from the table of the Gentiles upon the arrival of the Jewish converts, as if this had been a mere collusion between the Apostles to prevent the scandal of either party, and as if St. Paul did not think St. Peter in any fault, because he allowed the observance of such legal ceremonies at that time no less than St. Peter did. St. Austin, in 395, being only priest, wrote to him against this exposition, showing, that though the Apostles certainly agreed in doctrine, yet in this action of St. Peter there was an indiscretion of inadvertence which gave to the Gentile converts an occasion of scandal ; and, that if St. Paul did not blame him seriously, he must have been guilty of an officious lie (which cannot be denied), and by admitting such a fallacy any passage in the Scripture may be eluded in the like manner. This letter of St. Austin happened, by the detention and death of the bearer, never to be delivered. In 397, St. Austin, being then bishop, wrote to St. Jerom another letter upon the same subject, which, by another accident, fell into the hands of several persons in Italy, and was only sent to St. Jerom, in Palestine, accidentally by one of them, at which St. Jerom took offence. Several other letters passed between them on this affair, in which St. Austin shows

that the Apostles tolerated for some time the ceremonies of the Jewish law, that they might be abrogated by insensible degrees, and the synagogue buried with honour. He conjures St. Jerom by the meekness of Christ to pardon him what he had offended him in, thankfully submits himself to his reprehension and reproof, professing himself always ready to be taught by him as his master, and corrected by him as his censor, and desires to drop the inquiry, if it caused any breach of friendship, that they might provide for their mutual salvation. "I entreat you again and again," says he in another letter, "to correct me confidently when you perceive me to stand in need of it; for, though the office of a bishop be greater than that of a priest, yet in many things is Austin inferior to Jerom." The saint imputes the whole blame of this dispute to himself and his own negligence, because he had not added that the toleration of the legal rites only belonged to that time when the New Law began to be promulgated. St. Jerom afterward tacitly came over to St. Austin's opinion, which is confirmed by the general suffrage of theologians. St. Austin grieved exceedingly to see the debate betwixt him and Ruffinus carried on with warmth, and conjured them with the greatest tenderness imaginable to forbear invectives. "Could I meet you both together in any place," said he, "I would fall down at your feet, I would weep as long as I were able, I would beseech as much as I love you, sometimes each for himself, then each one for the other, and for many others, especially the weak for whom Christ died." This saint always dreaded the itch of vain-glory in literary contests, in which men love an opinion, as he says, "not because it is true, but because it is their own; and they dispute, not for the truth, but for the victory." For his part, he was so much upon his guard to shun this rock, that charity and humility were nowhere more visibly the governing principles of his heart than on such occasions.

He trembled always at the danger of secret complacency, or vain-glory, amidst the praises of others. Thus he writes of this temptation in his "Confessions:" "We are daily assaulted, O Lord, with these temptations; we are tempted without ceasing. The tongues of men are as a furnace, in which we are daily tried. Thou knowest the groans of my heart to Thee concerning this thing, and the floods of my eyes. For I cannot easily discover the advances that I make towards being more clean from this plague; and I very much dread my hidden sins, which are seen by Thine eyes, but not by mine. In other temptations, I have some way by which I may try myself; but none at all in this.' He complains, in a letter to Aurelius, Archbishop of Carthage,

much more bitterly how subtly and imperceptibly this dangerous vice insinuates itself into our souls, adding, "This I write to discover my evils to you, that you may know in what things to pray to God for my infirmities." Sincere humility made him love, at every turn, to confess his ignorance, and no less readily than candidly often to say, "I know it not," an answer which does more honour to a true genius than the greatest display of wit and learning; yet which costs so much to many, that they often turn themselves into every shape rather than make this humble acknowledgment, as the judicious Carthusian of Gaillon, F. Bonaventure, remarks, speaking of the great and truly humble cardinal Bellarmine. He showed the greatest deference for the opinion of others, and with unfeigned humility asked their advice in the paths of virtue, and submitted himself and his works to their censure. Nothing gave him greater confusion and mortification than the esteem of others, or their opinion of his learning.

From this sincere humility, St. Austin wrote his "Confessions," or praises of the divine mercy and justice, about the year 397, not long after he was made bishop, when all the world admired his sanctity, and he enjoyed the greatest honour and fame. Possidius assures us, that his main design in composing this work was to study his own humiliation, and to endeavour that no one should think of him above that which he confessed himself to be. He therefore divulged all the sins of his youth in the nine first books, and, in the tenth, published the many imperfections to which he was still subject, humbly begging the intercession of all Christians in his behalf. The saint himself sending this book to Count Darius, tells him that "the caresses of this world are more dangerous than its persecutions. See what I am from this book: believe me who bear testimony of myself, and regard not what others say of me. Praise with me the goodness of God for the great mercy He hath shown in me, and pray for me, that He will be pleased to finish what He hath begun in me, and that He never suffer me to destroy myself." St. Austin says in the second book of his "Retractions," that he compiled this work also to excite both himself and other men to praise God, ever just, and ever good, and to raise up our understanding and affections to Him. He has interspersed in it sublime and solid reflections on the greatness and goodness of God, the vanity of the world, and the miseries of sin, with most useful instructions for furthering the spiritual life in our souls. Ever since this work has been writ, it has been always read by pious persons with delight and admiration. The saint having given an account of his own actions in the ten first books, in the three last takes occasion to speak of his

love for the Holy Scriptures, and discusses several metaphysical difficulties concerning time, and the creation of the world, or the first part of the history of Genesis, against the Manichees.

Those heretics were the first against whom he exerted his zeal after his conversion from that impious sect. When he was made priest at Hippo, he grieved to see that great numbers in that city were infected with this pestilential heresy, and he challenged Fortunatus, their priest, to a conference. This was accepted, and it lasted two days ; the dispute turned principally on the origin of evil, which St. Austin proved to be derived from the free-will of the creature, which article of free-will he demonstrates, because, without it, neither law nor punishment could be just. Fortunatus, who, as Beausobre observes, was a very learned and able disputant, was so pressed as to have nothing to say but that he would confer with the heads of his sect. Out of shame he withdrew from Hippo very soon after, and his flight gave occasion to the conversion of a great part of his deluded flock. Faustus, a native of Milevis, and bishop of the Manichees, in Africa, was the idol of his sect in that country, and by his eloquence, his affected modesty, courtesy, and agreeable, winning behaviour, perverted many. He boasted that he had forsaken all things to obey the Gospel, whereas he had been master of nothing in the world to renounce, and led a voluptuous soft life, sleeping on the finest feather beds, and living in plenty and delights. About the year 390, he published a book against the Catholic faith, full of blasphemies against the Mosaic law and the prophets, and against the mystery of the Incarnation. Beausobre admires the elegance of his style, which is lively, clear, concise, and smooth ; superior in purity of the Latin tongue to most productions of that age ; and the author shows great address in palliating the defects of his sect, and in giving an ingenious turn to his sophistical arguments. St. Austin answered him in twenty-three books, about the year 400, and triumphed over him not only by the strength of truth, and the goodness of his cause, but also by an infinitely greater extent of learning. He has preserved us the text of his adversary, which he confutes.

In 404 a Manichee, of the number of the Elect, called Felix, came to Hippo, in order to re-establish his sect in that city and country, which, by the zeal of St. Austin, seemed no longer able to raise its head. He had been at Hippo from the month of August, when he agreed to hold a public disputation with St. Austin in the church in December. The conference of the first day is lost ; but those of the second and third, held on the 7th and 12th of December, are extant. Felix was not so learned as

Fortunatus, whom St. Austin had formerly confuted, as Erasmus observes, but he had more cunning. The issue of this disputation was, that Felix closed it by publicly professing upon the spot the Catholic faith, and anathematizing Manes and his blasphemies.

The heresy of the Priscillianists was akin to some of the Manichæan principles, and at that time infected several parts of Spain, where also the errors of the Origenists prevailed among some. Paul Orosius, a Spanish priest, made a voyage into Africa, in 415, to see St. Austin, whose great reputation had reached the most remote countries where the Christian name was known. This learned priest informed him, by a memorial, in what these heresies consisted, and requested of him an antidote to preserve the minds of his countrymen against them. This gave occasion to the saint's work, "*Against the Priscillianists and Origenists*," in which he condemns the impious errors of those who taught the human soul to be of a divine nature, and sent into the body in punishment of former transgressions, till it be purified in this world; and he proves that it is created by God, and that the torments of the devil and damned men are eternal. Possidius relates that Pascentius, Count of the Emperor's household, that is, intendant or steward of the imperial demesnes in Africa, being an Arian, insulted the Catholics on account of the simplicity of their faith, and challenged St. Austin to a conference. When they met, he refused to suffer notaries to take it down in writing, upon which St. Austin foretold that every one would give an account of it according to his fancy. Pascentius insisted upon St. Austin's showing him the word "consubstantial" in Scripture; the holy Bishop asked him to show in it the term "not-begotten," which he used; and our holy doctor demonstrated that it suffices if the sense be found there in equivalent terms. Maximinus, an Arian bishop, accompanied Count Sigisvult, who commanded the Gothic troops for Valentinian, against Count Boniface in Africa, and at Hippo challenged St. Austin to a public disputation, which was held in 428, and taken down in writing, as it is now extant.

The pagans and the Jews were no small object of our saint's zeal. The latter he confuted by a treatise, in which he shows the Mosaic law was to have an end, and to be changed into the new law. The neighbouring city of Madura was full of idolaters. St. Austin gained their goodwill by rendering them some important public service, and doing them good offices. Their grateful disposition towards him he improved to their spiritual advantage, and induced them to embrace the faith of Christ, having obliged Longinian, their pontiff, to confess that we must adore one only God, the incomprehensible Creator of all things, and our sovereign

good. When Rome was plundered by Alaric the Goth, in 410, the Pagans renewed their blasphemies against the Christian religion, to which they imputed the calamities of the empire. To answer their slanders, St. Austin began his great work, "Of the City of God," in 413, though he only finished it in 426. Several Tertulianists still subsisted at Carthage, whom St. Austin, by his mildness and zeal, reunited to the Catholic Church, as he also did another sect, called from Abel the patriarch Abelonians. Jovinian, the enemy of virginity consecrated to God, had been condemned by Pope Siricius and the Council of Milan, and confuted by St. Jerom, in 392; nevertheless, his disciples secretly gave out that those who opposed him condemned the state of marriage. St. Austin confuted this slander by his book, "On the Advantage of Matrimony," in which he shows that state to be holy, that many are engaged in it from motives of virtue, and that several in that state surpass many virgins in sanctity. He published, about the same time, his book, "On Holy Virginity," against the error of that heresiarch, proving this state to be in itself the more perfect, if it be embraced for the sake of God, and if it be accompanied with humility, and, according to its obligation, with a most fervent consecration of the heart to the love of God. His treatise, "On Continency," was writ a little before he was bishop, to show that this virtue consists in subduing the passions, and that sins do not proceed from a principle that is evil by nature in us, as the Manichees pretended. In the two books, "On Adulterous Marriages," the saint shows that a married person, after a separation on account of adultery, cannot take another wife or husband, and resolves some other difficulties concerning the indissolubility of marriage. His treatise, "On the Advantage of Widowhood," was writ in 414, and addressed to Juliana, the daughter-in-law of Proba. The saint commends very much the state of holy widowhood, though he allows second and third marriages lawful, and gives her and her daughter Demetrias, who had embraced a state of virginity the preceding year, useful instructions.

The sect which then made most noise in Africa, and gave the greatest employment to the zeal of this saint, was that of the Donatists. It has been related in the life of St. Optatus in what manner it took its rise in 305, above forty years before the birth of St. Austin. The first authors of it were condemned as schismatics by Pope Melchiades, in a council at Rome, in 313, and by the great council of all the West, at Arles, in 314. Having in the beginning violated the unity of the Church, they, by an usual consequence in all inveterate schisms, as St. Austin observes, fell afterward into several errors, by defending which they became

heretics. Their first heresy was, that the Catholic Church spread over the world, by holding communion with sinners, was defiled, and had ceased to be the Church of Christ, this being confined within the limits of their sect. Their second error was, that no sacraments can be validly conferred by those that are not in the true Church, whence they rebaptized all other sectaries, and all Catholics that came over to them. Constantine the Great passed severe laws against them at Milan, in 316, and banished some of their ringleaders. Valentinian I., Gratian, and Theodosius the Great published new laws against them, and they were divided into so many different sects in Mauritania and Numidia, that they themselves did not know their number. The chief among these were the Urbanists, who sprang up in a corner of Numidia; and at Carthage the Claudianists, the Maximinians, and Primianists; for Primianus, who, in 391, had succeeded Parmenianus in the schismatical see at Carthage, for receiving the Claudianists into communion, was condemned by a party which raised Maximinianus to that doubly schismatical dignity; yet Primianus always kept possession at Carthage, though Maximinianus was acknowledged by a great number of the provinces. The Rogatists in Mauritania Cæsariensis were so called from Rogatus, the author of their separation. Each of these sects believed that they alone had the true baptism, and were the true Church.

The Donatists were exceeding numerous in Africa, and obstinate to a degree of madness. They reckoned above five hundred bishops of their sect. At Hippo the number of Catholics was very small, and the Donatists bore so uncontrollable a sway there, that, a little before St. Austin came thither, Faustinus, their bishop, had forbid any bread to be baked in that city for the use of Catholics, and was obeyed, even by servants who lived in Catholic families. The holy doctor arriving whilst matters were in this situation, set himself to oppose the reigning heresy, both in public and in private, in the churches and in houses, by his words and writings. Possidius tells us that far the greatest part of Christians in Africa were at that time infected with the errors of the Donatists, and they carried their fury to the greatest excesses, murdering many Catholics, and committing all acts of violence.

By the learning and indefatigable zeal of St. Austin, supported by the sanctity of his life, the Catholics began to gain ground exceedingly, at which the Donatists were so much exasperated, that some enthusiasts among them preached publicly that to kill him would be doing a thing of the greatest service to their religion, and highly meritorious before God; and troops of Circumcellions made several attempts to do it, when he made the visitation of his

diocese. One day he only escaped them by his guide having missed his way, for which preservation he gave public thanks to God. The saint was obliged, in 405, to solicit Cecilian, Vicar of Africa in Numidia, to restrain the Donatists about Hippo from the outrages which they perpetrated there. In the same year the Emperor Honorius published new severe laws against them, condemning them to heavy fines, and other penalties. St. Austin at first disapproved such a persecution, though he afterward changed his opinion, when he saw the sincere conversion of many, who being moved by the terror of these laws, had, by examining the truth, opened their eyes to discover and heartily embrace it; and by the exemplarity of their lives, and the fervour with which they gave thanks to God for their conversion, exceedingly edified the Church. And he observes, that their open seditions and acts of violence distinguished them from the Arians, and other heretics, and required several remedies. Nevertheless, he only employed the arms of mildness and charity against them. He even interceded for, and obtained a remission of a fine or mulct, to which Crispin, a Donatist bishop, had been condemned, not only for heresy, but also for having formed a conspiracy against the life of Possidius, Bishop of Calama; and did the like for others. He earnestly exhorted the Catholics to labour for their conversion, by fasting, sighing, and praying to God for them, and by inviting them to the truth with tenderness and sincere charity, not with contentious wrangling. In 407 Honorius commissioned lawyers, under the title of Defensors of the Church, to prosecute the Donatists according to the laws. This name was before in use, and is mentioned in the Council of Carthage in 349, and in succeeding ages, to signify a person appointed, generally by the bishop, to protect widows, orphans, and others from oppression.

The most celebrated transaction that passed in Africa at that time, between the Catholics and the Donatists, was a great conference held at Carthage. St. Austin had, by frequent challenges, invited Proculcian, the Donatist bishop of Hippo, and others of that sect, to a fair disputation before competent judges upon the controverted points; but this they constantly declined, alleging his superior eloquence. St. Aurelius of Carthage, St. Austin, and the rest of the Catholic prelates, in a national council of all Africa, held at Carthage in 403, agreed to send to all the Donatist bishops in Africa a solemn challenge for deputies of both parties to meet at an appointed time and place, in order to discuss the articles which divided them in communion; but the Donatists answered they could not meet to confer with successors of traditors and sinners, whose company would defile them; and their evasions



put by the disputation till, at the request of the Catholics, the Emperor Honorius compelled them by a rescript, dated in 410, to meet within four months and hold a public conference with the Catholics, in which he appointed the tribune Marcellinus to preside. The Catholic bishops subscribed to this agreement at Carthage to the number of 270. Marcellinus ordered seven bishops to be chosen on each side for the disputants, and four notaries on each side to take down the acts in writing, with four bishops to superintend and observe them, and seven other bishops for the council of the disputants; only these eighteen on each side were to be present. However, the Donatists, at their request, were all allowed to appear at the beginning of the conferences, but no more than eighteen Catholic bishops, the rest spending this time in retirement, prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds to implore the divine blessing. The seven Catholic disputants were Aurelius, Alipius, Austin, Vincentius, Fortunatus, Fortunatianus, and Possidius. The Donatist disputants were Primianus of Carthage, Petilianus of Cirtha, Emeritus of Algiers, Protasius, Montanus, Gaudentius, and Adeodatus of Milevis. The tribune Marcellinus was attended by twenty officers. The conference was opened on the 1st of June, 411, and was continued during three days. The Donatists refusing to sit down in such company, disputed standing; whereupon Marcellinus caused his seat to be taken away, and would also stand. The questions both of right and of matters of fact were debated; the very pieces produced by the Donatists justified Cecilian and his cause; and the universality of the true Church was demonstrated by St. Austin, who had the principal share in this disputation, and bore away the glory of that triumphant day, the fruit of which was the conversion of an incredible number of heretics. Marcellinus pronounced sentence as to the matter of fact which had given rise to the schism, declaring that Cecilianus had never been convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, and that had he been guilty, they could not have affected the universal Church; for no one is to be condemned for faults committed by another. The report of all that had passed having been made by Marcellinus to the Emperor Honorius, to whom the Donatists had appealed from this sentence, he enacted new laws against them, subjecting them to heavy fines, and ordering their clergy to be banished out of Africa, and their churches restored to the Catholics.

This conference gave a mortal blow to the schism of the Donatists, who from that time returned in crowds into the bosom of the Catholic Church; many bishops being converted with their whole flocks, as Possidius relates. Their bishops that renounced

the schism were confirmed in their dignities, as had been decreed in the Council of Carthage in 407. Yet some of these heretics remained immovably fixed in their errors and faction. Several of their Circumcellions and clerks, having lain in ambush near Hippo, had killed Restitutus, a Catholic priest, and had beat out the eyes, and broke one of the fingers of another; and being apprehended, they confessed their crime before Marcellinus, whom the Emperor had then honoured with the dignity and office of count. St. Austin, fearing they would be punished according to the rigour of the law, wrote to Marcellinus, entreating him not to use that severity towards them which they had employed against Catholics. "We neither impeached them," said he, "nor persecuted them; and should be sorry to have the sufferings of the servants of God punished by the law of retaliation." He begged him to have respect to that meekness which the Church professeth to exercise towards all men, and desired these criminals might not be put to death or maimed, but only restrained from hurting others by being confined in prison, or employed in some public works. He wrote to the same purpose to Apringius, the proconsul, who was to be their judge, and was brother to Marcellinus, telling him that the sufferings of Catholics ought to serve as so many examples of patience, which we must not sully with the blood of our enemies. Receiving no answer, he sent a second pressing letter on this affair to Marcellinus. That count was a very virtuous and religious man, and had for St. Austin the greatest veneration and regard; and the saint, than whom there perhaps never was a more tender or a warmer friend, had for him an equal affection and esteem. When the consul Heraclian, who had been Proconsul of Africa, rebelled in 413, and being vanquished by Count Marinus near Rome, fled to Carthage, where he was killed, Marinus pursued him thither, and put many to death on account of his conspiracy. The Donatists failed not to bring Marcellinus and Apringius into suspicion as if they had favoured the rebels; and at their instigation, Marinus caused them to be imprisoned, and though St. Austin went to Carthage, justified them before Marinus, and obtained his promise that they should not suffer, that general afterward, on a sudden, commanded them both to be beheaded. St. Austin was much afflicted at this barbarous execution, and ascribed the death of Marcellinus to the slanders of the Donatists, who were exasperated at the sentence he had given against them; he has left us a moving description of the patience and heroic sentiments of charity and all other Christian virtues in which he found him in prison when he went to comfort and assist him before his death, and bore ample testimony to his innocence, in-

violable chastity, integrity, patience, contempt of all earthly things, holy zeal, and charity. He mentions, that visiting Marcellinus in prison, and asking him whether he had ever offended God by impurity, or committed any other sin for which he ought to do canonical penance, he, taking hold of the Bishop's right hand, assured him "by those sacraments which that hand brought him, that he had never been guilty of any such sin." This passage shows, as Du Pin observes, how careful the pastors then were to visit prisoners, and when they seemed to be in danger of being condemned, to prepare them for death by penance, absolution, and the holy Eucharist. St. Austin rejected all commerce with Marinus, and exhorted others to testify their indignation against him in such a manner as might oblige him to a penance proportionable to his crime. The Emperor Honorius disgraced Marinus for this action, honoured Marcellinus as one who had been unjustly put to death through the malice of the Donatists, and styled him "of glorious memory." In the Martyrologies he is ranked among the martyrs on the 8th of April.

About the same time, St. Demetrias consecrated her virginity to God in a religious state at Carthage, in 413. She was daughter of Olibrius, who had been consul in 395, and of Juliana, and granddaughter, by the father, of Proba. In the midst of the delights of a great house, and surrounded with eunuchs and maids who served her, she had from her tender years inured herself to austere fasting, mean clothing, and lying often on the ground covered only with sackcloth. This she did so secretly, that only a few of her maids were conscious of it, and of most of her pious practices. It was her desire to devote herself to God in a religious state, and she besought her Saviour, with many tears, on her knees, to grant her this happiness, and to move the hearts of her mother and grandmother to consent to the same. An honourable marriage with a rich Roman nobleman was agreed to by her friends, and the nuptial chamber was preparing, when she one morning, encouraging herself by the example of St. Agnes, clothed in an ordinary tunic and gown, having laid aside her ornaments and jewels, went and threw herself at the feet of her grandmother Proba, but could express herself only by her tears. Proba and Juliana were extremely surpris'd, but when they understood her request, they raised her up, and pressing her tenderly in their arms, with great joy approved her pious resolution. They did not lessen her fortune, but bestowed that portion on the poor which they had designed for her husband. Demetrias received the veil from the hands of the Bishop of Carthage, with the usual prayers and ceremonies. Several of her friends and slaves followed her

example. St. Austin's exhortations, whilst he was at Carthage during the conference, had very much contributed to confirm her in her good resolutions, and Proba and Juliana both wrote to acquaint him of her being professed, sending him at the same time a small present. St. Austin returned them a letter of congratulation and thanks. They wrote likewise to St. Jerom, and earnestly prayed him to give their daughter some instructions for the conduct of her life, which he did by a long epistle, in which he treated of the chief duties of a Christian virgin, exhorting her particularly to work daily with her hands. Pelagius, who was then in Palestine, sent her also a very long letter, which is extant, and is one of his first writings, in which he began to discover the seeds of his heresy. SS. Austin and Alipius wrote a joint letter to Juliana in 417, to caution her daughter against the poison artfully concealed in the above-mentioned letter. Proba, Juliana, and Demetrias returned to Rome, where this holy virgin flourished in the time of St. Leo.

Pelagius was by birth a Briton, as he is called by St. Austin, St. Prosper, and Marius Mercator; and was a monk of Bangor, in Wales, not in Ireland. He had a good genius, but was not solidly learned; his style is barren, flat, and dry. He travelled into Italy, and lived a long time at Rome, where he gained a reputation for virtue. Meeting with Rufinus the Syrian, a disciple of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, who came to Rome about the year 400, he learned from him the errors which he began from that time to propagate, though at first privately, against the necessity of divine grace; but he was careful to dissemble them at first, setting them forth by the mouths of his disciples to see in what manner they would be received. His chief disciple was Celestius, a man nobly born, as Marius Mercator testifies, bold, and of a subtle ready wit. He was a Scotsman, and is called by St. Jerom "a fellow bloated with Scottish gruels." He pleaded some time at the bar, but became afterward a monk. At Rome he joined Pelagius, and, a little before that city was taken, passed with him into Africa, in 409. Pelagius went soon into the East, but left Celestius at Carthage, where he strove to be promoted to the order of priesthood; but Paulinus, the deacon of Milan, who was then in Africa, preferred against him an accusation of heresy to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, about the beginning of the year 412. Aurelius assembled a council at Carthage, to which Paulinus presented two memorials, charging Celestius with holding the following errors: That Adam would have been equally mortal, and have died, though he had not sinned; that his sin was prejudicial to him alone, not to his posterity; that children are now

born in the same state in which they would have been if Adam had never sinned, and that if they die without receiving baptism, they obtain eternal life. Celestius was heard, and, notwithstanding his evasions, confessed enough to be convicted of obstinate heresy, so that he was condemned, and deprived of ecclesiastical communion. He appealed to the apostolical see; but instead of pursuing his appeal he departed to Ephesus.

St. Austin was not at this council, but from that time he began to oppose these errors in his sermons and letters. But before the end of that year he was engaged by the tribune Marcellinus to write his first treatises against them. This, however, he did without naming the authors of that heresy, hoping by this mildness more easily to gain them. He even praised Pelagius by name in a book which he wrote against his errors, and says: "As I hear, he is a holy man, very much improved in Christian virtue: a good man, and worthy of praise." But after his condemnation he is accused by Orosius and other fathers of loving banquets and the baths, and living in softness and delights. This heresiarch made a long stay in Palestine. In 415 he was accused of heresy before certain bishops assembled at Jerusalem, who determined to write to the Bishop of Rome for information in this affair, and to abide by his answer; but, in December the same year, a council of fourteen bishops, among whom was John of Jerusalem, was held at Diospolis or Lydda, in which Pelagius was obliged to appear, and give an account of his faith, two Gaulish bishops who had been driven from their sees—Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix—being his accusers. Pelagius covered the propositions with which he was charged with a gloss which made them seem excusable, and was discharged because he appeared to be a Catholic; but his error was condemned by the council, and he himself was obliged to abjure it. It is true, indeed, that he only did it in words; for he never changed his opinion, and deceived the bishops. After this council he became very vain, and boasted of the advantage he had gained in it; but durst not show the proceedings, because people would have seen that he had been forced to disown his errors. He was content to spread abroad a letter which he wrote to his acquaintance, wherein he said that fourteen bishops had approved his opinion, namely, that a man may live without sin, and may easily keep the divine commandments, if he will; but he did not say, that he had added in the council these words, *with the grace of God*; and he added in his letter the word *easily*, which he dared not pronounce in the council, as St. Austin takes notice. The bishops of Africa were too well acquainted with his artifices to be easily imposed upon,

and assembling two councils, one at Carthage, and the other at Milevis, in 416, they wrote against him to Pope Innocent, who, commending their pastoral vigilance, in 417, declared Pelagius and Celestius deprived of the communion of the Church; for he saw the answers of the former in the Council of Diospolis were no way satisfactory, as appears from his and St. Austin's letters upon this affair. Pelagius wrote to the Pope to justify himself, and Celestius, who had got himself ordained priest at Ephesus, went to Rome in person, where Zosimus had succeeded Innocent in the papal chair in March, 417. Celestius presented to him a confession of faith, wherein he was very explicit on the first articles of the Creed, and professed that if in any letters he had advanced anything in which he had been mistaken, he submitted it to his judgment, and begged to be set right. Pope Zosimus had so much regard to his pretended submission, that he wrote in his favour to the African bishops, though he would not take off the excommunication which they had pronounced against Celestius, but deferred passing sentence for two months. In the meantime, St. Aurelius assembled, in 418, a council at Carthage of two hundred and fourteen bishops, which renewed the sentence of excommunication against Celestius, and declared that they constantly adhered to the decree of Pope Innocent.

Pope Zosimus having received their letters of information, condemned the Pelagians, and cited Celestius to appear again; but the heretic fled secretly out of Rome, and travelled into the East. Upon which Zosimus passed a solemn sentence of excommunication upon Pelagius and Celestius, and sent it into Africa, and to all the chief churches of the East. The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius made an edict which they sent to the three prefects of the prætorium to be published through the whole empire, by which they banished Pelagius and Celestius, and condemned to perpetual banishment and confiscation of estates all persons who should maintain their doctrine. Pelagius and Celestius after this lurked privately in the East. In Italy, eighteen bishops refused to subscribe to the letter and sentence of Zosimus, and were deprived of their sees. The most learned and warmest stickler among these was Julianus, Bishop of Eclanum in Campania, which see is now removed to Avellino. He afterward turned school-master in Sicily; his tomb was discovered there in the ninth century in a small village. His writings show him to have been one of the vainest boasters of the human race, full of Pelagian pride, and a contempt of all other men, but of quick parts, and abundance of wit. It is sufficiently understood from what has been said above, that the chief errors of the Pelagian heresy

regard original sin and divine grace ; the former they denied, and the necessity of the latter ; they also affirmed that a man could live exempt from all sin, without grace, and they extolled the virtues of the pagans. St. Austin maintained the contrary truths of the Catholic faith with invincible force ; and he proved from clear passages in Holy Scripture, that all men are sinners, and bound to pray for the pardon of sins ; for without an extraordinary grace, such as was given to the Virgin Mary, saints offend by small transgressions of a faulty inadvertence, against which they watch, and for which they live in constant compunction ; he also proves that the virtues of heathens are often counterfeit, namely, when they are founded in, or infected with motives of vain-glory or other passions ; they are true moral virtues, and may deserve some temporal recompense, if they spring purely from principles of moral honesty ; but no virtue can be meritorious of eternal life which is not animated by the principle of supernatural life (that is, divine charity), and which is not produced by a supernatural grace. He teaches, that the divine grace, obtained for us by Christ's redemption, works in us the consent of our will to all virtue, though not without our free concurrence ; so that all the good that can be in us is to be attributed to the Creator, and no one can boast of his good works against another ; but God cannot be the Author of evil, which rises entirely from the malice and defect of rectitude in the free-will of the creature, to whom nothing remains without the divine concurrence but the wretched power of depraving and corrupting itself, or at most of doing that from self-love which ought to be done for God alone. It cannot without grace do any action of which God is the supernatural end, nor of which by consequence He will be the recompense ; but the necessary grace is never wanting but through our fault.

Through the corruption of human nature by sin, pride being become the darling passion of our heart, men are born with a propensity to Pelagianism, or principles which flatter an opinion of our own strength, merit, and self-sufficiency. It is not therefore to be wondered, that this heresy found many advocates : next to that of Arianism the Church never received a more dangerous assault. The wound which this monster caused would certainly have been much deeper had not God raised up this eminent doctor of His grace to be a bulwark for the defence of the truth. He was a trumpet to excite the zeal of the other pastors, and, as it were, the soul of all their deliberations, councils, and endeavours to extinguish the rising flame. To him is the Church indebted as to the chief instrument of God in overthrowing this heresy. From its ashes sprang Semipelagianism, the authors of which were

certain priests, bishops, and monks in Gaul, at Lerins, and in other parts about Marseilles. St. Prosper and Hilarius, two zealous and learned laymen, informed St. Austin by letters in 429, that these persons expressed the utmost admiration for all his other actions and words, but took offence at his doctrine of grace, as if it destroyed free-will in man : they taught that the beginning of faith and the first desire of virtue are from the creature, and move God to bestow that grace which is necessary for men to execute and accomplish good works. They said, that as to children who die without baptism, and those infidels to whom the faith is never preached, the reason of their misfortune is, that God foresees they would not make a good use of longer life or of the Gospel ; and that He on that account deprives them of those graces. St. Austin, in answer to these letters, wrote two books against this error, one entitled "On the Predestination of the Saints," the other, "On the Gift of Perseverance," showing that the authors of this doctrine did not recede from the great principles of Pelagius, and that to ascribe to the creature the beginning of virtue is to give the whole to it, not to God. The saint treats the Semipelagians as brethren, because they erred without obstinacy, and their error had not been yet condemned by any express definition of the Church. The principal persons who espoused it seem to have been Cassian at Marseilles and certain monks of Lerins. Faustus, Abbot of Lerins, and afterward Bishop of Ries in 462, several of whose works are extant, carried this error to the greatest length. He died in 480. The Semipelagian heresy was condemned in the second council of Orange, under St. Cæsarius, in 529, which was confirmed by Pope Boniface II. in a letter to St. Cæsarius.

The two works which do most honour to St. Austin's name are those of his "Confessions" and "Retractions," in the former of which, with the most sincere humility and compunction, he lays open the errors of his conduct, and in the latter those of his judgment. This work of his "Retractions" he began in the year 426, the seventy-second of his age, reviewing his writings, which were very numerous, and correcting the mistakes he had made in an humble sense of them, and with a surprising candour and severity never seeking the least gloss or excuse to extenuate them. To have more leisure to finish this and his other writings, he proposed to his clergy and people to choose for his coadjutor Eradius, the youngest among his priests, but a person of great virtue and prudence, and his election was confirmed with great acclamations of the people on the 26th of September, 426. St. Austin, however, would not have him consecrated before his death on account of



the canon which forbade two bishops to be ordained for the same city at a time ; but he desired the people for the future to address themselves to Eradius in all their concerns. Count Boniface, a chief commander in the imperial forces in Africa (to whom Placidia and Valentinian III. were chiefly indebted for the empire, for which several rebels had contended with them), after the death of his wife, had taken a resolution to forsake the world, and to embrace a monastic life. St. Austin and St. Alipius dissuaded him from taking that step, imagining that in his present situation he was more serviceable to the Church and State. By insensible degrees he afterward fell from his practices of devotion and good resolutions, and having been obliged, by the Emperor's order, to go over into Spain, he there married a second time, and took to wife an Arian woman, related to the kings of the Vandals, which alliance procured him a share in their friendship, though he insisted that she should first become a Catholic. This affinity gave occasion to the general Aëtus, his rival, to render his fidelity suspected to Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, sister to the late Emperor Honorius, widow of the general Constantius, and at that time regent of the empire during the minority of her son Valentinian III. Boniface resented his disgrace, and saw his ruin inevitable, wherefore he made a treaty with Gontharis and Genseric, kings of the Vandals in Spain, and standing upon his defence, defeated three captains that were sent by Placidia and Aëtus against him. St. Austin wrote an excellent letter of advice, exhorting him to do penance for his sins, to return to his duty, to forgive all injuries, and if his wife consented, to embrace a state of continency, according to his former purpose ; but as he could not now do this without her consent, the saint set before his eyes his duty in a married state, not to love the world, to commit no evil, to subdue his passions, pray, give alms, do penance, and fast as much as his health would give him leave. We do not find that Boniface was disposed as yet to follow his advice. Indeed, the step he had then taken made it difficult to provide for his safety ; and St. Austin, who was well acquainted how precarious and delicate a matter it is to be involved in the jealousies and intrigues of courts, had no advice which he would venture to give on that head. "You will perhaps say to me," said he, "What would you have me to do in this extremity?" If you advise with me concerning your secular affairs, and the means how to preserve or increase your wealth, I know not what answer to make you. Uncertain things cannot admit of certain counsels ; but if you consult me for the salvation of your soul, I know very well what to say : *Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world* (1 John ii. 15). Show your courage—repent, pray with zeal and warmth," etc.

The Vandals under Genseric, with an army of fourscore thousand men, sailed from Spain into Africa, in May, 428, upon the invitation of Count Boniface. Possidius, Bishop of Calama, an eye-witness, describes the dreadful ravages by which they filled with horror and desolation all those rich provinces as they marched. He saw the cities in ruin, and the houses in the country razed to the ground, the inhabitants being either slain or fled. Some had sunk under the torture; others had perished by the sword; others groaned in captivity, being become slaves to brutal and cruel enemies, and many lost the purity of their body and their faith. He saw that the hymns and praises of God had ceased in the churches, whose very buildings had in many places been consumed by fire; that the solemn sacrifices which were due to God had ceased in their proper places, that is, for want of churches they were performed in private houses, or other unhallowed places; that in many parts there were none left to demand the sacraments, nor was it easy elsewhere to find any to administer them to those who required it; that the churches were destitute of priests and ministers; the consecrated virgins and other religious persons were dispersed into all parts; they who fled into the woods, mountains, rocks, and caverns, were either taken and slain, or died with hunger, and for want of necessities; the bishops and the rest of the clergy to whom God had been so gracious as not to suffer them to fall into the hands of the enemy, or to make their escape after they had been taken, were stripped of everything, and reduced to the most extreme degree of beggary; and of the great number of churches in Africa, there were hardly three remaining (namely Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha) whose cities were yet standing, and not laid in ruins. Mansuetus, Bishop of Uri, was burnt at the gates of Furnes, and Papinian, Bishop of Vita, was burnt with red-hot bars of iron.

Amidst this universal desolation St. Austin was consulted by a bishop named Quodvultdeus, and afterward by Honoratus, the pious Bishop of Thabenna, whether it was lawful for bishops or other clergymen to fly upon the approach of the barbarians. St. Austin's answer to Quodvultdeus is lost; but in that to Honoratus he refers to it, and repeats the same excellent maxims. He affirms, that it is lawful for a bishop or priest to fly and forsake the flock when he alone is aimed at by name, and the people are threatened with no danger, but left quiet; or when the people are all fled, so that the pastor has none left who have need of his ministry; or when the same ministry may be better performed by others who have not the like occasion of flight. In all other cases, he says pastors are obliged to watch over their flock, which Christ has

committed to them ; neither can they forsake it without a crime, as he proves in terms dictated by the fire of his fervent charity, and with reasons supported by a zeal altogether divine. Representing the desolation of a town which is like to be taken, and the necessity of the presence of Christ's ministers, he writes as follows : " In such occasions what flocking is there to the church of persons of all ages and sexes, whereof some require baptism, others reconciliation (or absolution), others to be put under penance, and all crave comfort ! If then no ministers are to be found, what misfortune is that for such as go out of this life unregenerate, or, if penitents, not absolved ! What grief is it to their kindred, if they be faithful, that they cannot hope to see with them in everlasting rest ! What cries ! what lamentations ! nay, what imprecations from some, to see themselves without ministers and without sacraments ! If, on the contrary, ministers have proved faithful in not forsaking their people, they are an assistance to all the world as God shall give them power. Some are baptized ; others are reconciled ; no one is deprived of the communion of our Lord's body. All are comforted, fortified, and exhorted to implore by fervent prayers the assistance of the divine mercy."

Count Darius was sent by the Empress Placidia into Africa to treat of peace ; Boniface produced to him authentic vouchers how much he had been betrayed and driven to extremities by the treachery of Aëtius towards him, and returning to his allegiance, was again entrusted with the command of the imperial army. He endeavoured to retrieve the loss of Africa ; but it was then too late. He tried to draw off the barbarians first by money, afterward by force of arms, but without success. Count Darius wrote to St. Austin with extraordinary respect, and prayed him that he would send him his book of Confessions. The saint answered his compliments with unfeigned humility, and told him that he who finds not in himself those virtues for which he is commended is but the more ashamed to see himself thought to be what he is not, but what he ought to be, and adds : " The caresses of this world are more dangerous than its persecutions." The saint had above others a mournful sense of the miseries of his country, while he deeply considered not only the outward calamities of the people, but also the ruin of a multitude of souls that was likely to ensue ; and he prayed often and importunately that God would deliver his country, or at least would give His servants constancy and resignation, and that He would receive him to Himself, that he might not be an idle spectator of so great evils. He spoke much to his people on resignation to the divine will under all the scourges which their sins deserved ; on the unspeakable mercies

and unsearchable judgments of God always just, holy, and adorable, and the necessity of averting the divine anger by sincere penance. Count Boniface, after having been defeated in battle, fled to Hippo, which was the strongest fortress in Africa. Possidius and several neighbouring bishops took refuge in the same place. The Vandals appeared before that city about the end of May, 430, besieging it by land, and at the same time blocking up its harbour with their fleet by sea. The siege continued fourteen months. In the third month, St. Austin was seized with a fever, and from the first moment of his illness doubted not but it was a summons of God, who called him to Himself. Ever since he retired from the world, death had been the chief subject of his meditations; and, in his last illness, he spoke of his passage with great cheerfulness, saying, "We have a merciful God." He often spoke of the resignation and joy of St. Ambrose in his last moments; and of the saying of Christ to a certain bishop in a vision mentioned by St. Cyprian: "You are afraid to suffer here, and unwilling to go hence: what shall I do with you?" He also mentioned the last words of a certain friend and fellow-bishop, who, when he was departing out of this world, said to one that was telling him that he might recover of that illness: "If I must die once, why not now?" How much we are bound to take a reasonable care of our health above other temporal goods, for all the necessary purposes of life, he proves in his letter to Proba; yet he often teaches that it is a mark and test of our loving God to desire vehemently by death to be united eternally and intimately to God in His perfect love and uninterrupted praise: "What love of Christ can that be," says he, "to fear lest He come whom you say you love? Oh, brethren! are we not ashamed to say we love whilst we add that we are afraid lest He come?"

He was not able to contain within his breast the desires of his soul, in which he sighed after the glorious day of eternity, when we shall behold and possess God our sovereign good, the object of all our desires. "Then," says he, "we shall bend to Him the whole attention, and all the affections of our souls, and we shall behold Him face to face; we shall behold and love; we shall love and praise. See what will be in the end without interruption or end." He thus expresses his sighs with David: "Till I shall come, till I appear before Him, I cease not to weep, and these tears are sweet to me as food. With this thirst with which I am consumed, with which I am ardently carried towards the fountain of my love, whilst my joy is delayed, I continually burn more and more vehemently. In the prosperity of the world no less than in its adversity, I pour forth tears of this ardent desire, which never

languishes or abates. When it is well with me as to the world, it is ill with me till I appear before the face of my God." He redoubled his fervour in these holy sighs as he drew nearer his term; and he prepared himself for his passage to eternity by the most humble compunction and penance. He used often to say in familiar discourse, that after the remission of sins received in baptism, the most perfect Christian ought not to leave this world without condign penance. In his last illness he ordered the penitential Psalms of David to be written out, and hung in tablets upon the wall by his bed; and as he there lay sick, he read them with abundance of tears. Not to be interrupted in these devotions, he desired, about ten days before his death, that no one should come to him except at those times when either the physicians came to visit him, or his food was brought to him. This was constantly observed, and all the rest of his time was spent in prayer. Though the strength of his body daily and hourly declined, yet his senses and intellectual faculties continued sound to the last. He calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of God, from whom he had received it, on the 28th of August, 430, after having lived seventy-six years, and spent almost forty of them in the labours of the ministry. He made no will; for this poor man of Christ had nothing to bequeath. He had given charge that the library which he had bestowed on his Church should be carefully preserved.

Possidius adds, "We being present, a sacrifice was offered to God for his recommendation, and so he was buried," in the same manner as St. Austin mentions to have been done for his mother. The same author tells us, that whilst the saint lay sick in bed, by the imposition of his hands he restored to perfect health a sick man, who, upon the intimation made to him in a vision, was brought to him for that purpose; and he says: "I knew, both when he was priest and when he was bishop, that being requested to pray for certain persons that were possessed, he had poured out prayers and supplications to Our Lord, and the devils departed from them." An authentic account of several other miracles with which he was favoured by God may be read in his life compiled by the pious and learned Mr. Woodhead.

It was ascribed to his prayer that the city of Hippo was not taken in that siege, which the barbarians raised after having continued it fourteen months. Count Boniface afterward hazarded another battle, but with no better success than before. He therefore fled into Italy, and all the inhabitants of Hippo withdrew into foreign countries, abandoning the empty town to the barbarians, who then entered, and burnt part of it. The saint's body, which

was buried in the church of Peace (called St. Stephen's, since St. Austin had deposited there a portion of that martyr's relics in 424), was respected by the barbarians, though they were Arians ; and his library escaped their fury. Bede says, in his true Martyrology, that the body of St. Austin was translated into Sardinia, and in his time redeemed out of the hands of the Saracens, and deposited in the church of St. Peter at Pavia, about the year 720. Oldrad, Archbishop of Milan, wrote a history of this translation by order of Charlemagne, extracted from authentic archives then kept at Pavia. He says that the bishops who were banished by Huneric into Sardinia took with them these relics, about fifty years after the saint's death ; and that they remained in that island till Luitprand, the pious and magnificent King of the Lombards, procured them from the Saracens for a great sum of money. He took care to have this sacred treasure hid with the utmost care under a brick wall, in a coffin of lead enclosed in another of silver, the whole within a coffin of marble, upon which, in many places, was engraved the name *Augustinus*. In this condition the sacred bones were discovered in 1695. They were incontestably proved authentic by the Bishop of Pavia, in 1728, whose sentence was confirmed by Pope Benedict XIII. in the same year, as related by Fontanini in an express dissertation, and by Tournon in his life of that pope. The church of St. Peter in Pavia from this treasure is now called St. Austin's, and is served both by Austin Friars and by Regular Canons of his rule. His festival is mentioned in the Martyrology which bears the name of St. Jerom, and in that of Carthage as old as the sixth century. In the life of St. Cæsarius, wrote in that age, it is mentioned to have been then kept with great solemnity. It is a holiday of obligation in all the dominions of the King of Spain. A general council being summoned to meet at Ephesus against Nestorius in 431, the Emperor Theodosius sent a particular rescript, by a special messenger into Africa, to invite St. Austin to it ; but he was departed to eternal bliss.

This saint was not only the oracle of his own times, but of the principal among all the Latin fathers that came after him, who often have only copied him, and always professed to adhere to his principles. Peter Lombard, St. Thomas Aquinas, and other eminent masters among the schoolmen have trod in their steps. The councils have frequently borrowed the words of this holy doctor in expressing their decisions. On the great commendations which Innocent I., Celestine I., St. Gregory the Great, and other popes and eminent men have bestowed on his doctrine, see Orsi, Godeau, Massoulié, Gonet, Usher, and innumerable others. An abstract of his doctrine is given us by Ceillier, and in a judicious and clear

manner by the learned Mr. Brerelie, in a book entitled, "The Religion of St. Augustine," printed in 1620. He shows how great was the veneration which the first reformers generally expressed for this Father. Luther affirms that since the apostles' time the Church never had a better doctor than St. Austin; and that, "after the sacred Scripture, there is no doctor in the Church who is to be compared to Austin." Dr. Couel says, he was "a man far beyond all that ever were before him, or shall in likelihood follow after him, both for divine and human learning, those being excepted that were inspired." Dr. Field calls him "the greatest of all the Fathers, and the worthiest divine the Church of God ever had since the apostles' time." Mr. Forester styles him "the monarch of the Fathers." To mention one of our own times, the learned and most celebrated professor at Berlin, James Brucker, in his "Critical History of Philosophy," extols exceedingly the astonishing genius and penetration, and the extensive learning of this admirable doctor, and tells us that he was much superior to all the other great men who adorned that most learned age in which he flourished. The same author, in his "Abridgement," or "Institutions of the Philosophical History," calls him "the bright star of philosophy." These testimonies agree with that of Erasmus, who calls St. Austin "the singularly excellent Father, and the chief among the greatest ornaments and lights of the Church:" "Eximius pater, inter summa ecclesiæ ornamenta ac lumina princeps."

The eminence of the sanctity of this illustrious doctor was derived from the deep foundation of his humility, according to the maxim which he lays down: "Attempt not to attain true wisdom by any other way than that which God hath enjoined. This is in the first, second, and third place, humility; and this would I answer as often as you ask me. Not that there are not other precepts; but unless humility go before, accompany, and follow after, all that we do well is snatched out of our hands by pride. As Demosthenes, the prince of orators, being asked which among the precepts of eloquence was to be observed first, is said to have answered: Pronunciation, or the delivery. Again, which second? Pronunciation. Which third? Nothing else (said he) but pronunciation; so if you should ask me concerning the precepts of the Christian religion, I should answer you, Nothing but humility. Our Lord Jesus Christ was made so low in order to teach us this humility, which a certain most ignorant science opposeth."

## SAINT BERNARD, ABBOT.

A.D. 1153.

ST. BERNARD, the prodigy and great ornament of the eleventh age, was the third son of Tescelin and Aliz or Alice, both of the prime nobility in Burgundy, and related to the dukes, particularly Aliz, who was daughter of Bernard, lord of Mombard. Our saint was born in 1091, at Fontaines, a castle near Dijon, and a lordship belonging to his father. His parents were persons of great piety, and his mother not content to offer him to God as soon as he was born, as she did all her seven children, afterward consecrated him to His service in the Church, as Anne did Samuel, and from that day considered him as not belonging to her, but to God ; and she took a special care of his education, in hopes that he would one day be worthy to serve the altar. Indeed, she brought up all her children very discreetly and piously, and never trusted them to nurses. Their names were Guy, Gerard, Bernard, Humbeline, Andrew, Bartholomew, and Nivard. The other sons were applied young to learn military exercise and feats of arms ; but Bernard was sent to Chatillon on the Seine, to pursue a complete course of studies in a college of secular priests who were canons of that church. He even then loved to be alone ; was always recollected, obedient, obliging to all, and modest beyond what can be expressed. He made it his continual earnest prayer to God, that He would never suffer him to sully his innocence by sin. He gave to the poor all the money he got. The quickness of his parts astonished his masters, and his progress in learning was far greater than could be expected from one of his age ; but he was still much more solicitous to listen to what God, by His holy inspirations, spoke to his heart. One Christmas night in his sleep he seemed to see the divine Infant Jesus so amiable, that from that day he ever had a most tender and sensible devotion towards that great mystery of love and mercy, and in speaking of it he always seemed to surpass himself in the sweetness and unction of his words. His love of chastity so restrained his senses, that



he never showed any inclination to the least levity or curiosity, by which the passions are usually inflamed, and his body being kept always in subjection to the spirit, was readily disposed to obey it in all habits of virtue. The saint entered upon the studies of theology, and of the Holy Scriptures, at Chatillon. He was nineteen years old when his mother died. Her excessive charities, and attendance in the hospitals, her fasts, her devotions, and all her other virtues, had gained her the reputation of a living saint. Having a great devotion to St. Ambrose, she had a custom of inviting all the clergy from Dijon to Fontaines, to celebrate his festival. On the vigil of that day, in 1110, she was seized with a fever, and on the festival itself received the extreme unction and viaticum, answered to the recommendation of her soul recited by all this religious company, and having made the sign of the Cross, happily expired.

Bernard was then returned to Fontaines, and now become his own master ; for his father was employed at a distance about his business and in the army. He made his appearance in the world with all the advantages and talents which can make it amiable to a young nobleman, or which could make him loved by it. His quality, vivacity of wit, and cultivated genius, his prudence and natural modesty, his affability and sweetness of temper, and the agreeableness of his conversation, made him beloved by all ; but these very advantages had their snares. His first danger was from his false friends and companions ; but the light of grace made him discover their first attempts, and resolutely repulse them, and shun such treacherous worldly company for the time to come. Once he happened to fix his eyes on the face of a woman ; but immediately reflecting that this was a temptation, he ran to a pond, and leaped up to the neck into the water, which was then as cold as ice, to punish himself, and to vanquish the enemy. On another occasion, an impudent woman assaulted him ; but he drove her out of his chamber with the utmost indignation. Bernard, by these temptations, was affrighted at the snares and dangers of the world, and began to think of forsaking it, and retiring to Citeaux, where God was served with great fervour. He fluctuated some time in his mind, and one day going to see his brothers, who were then with the Duke of Burgundy at the siege of the Castle Grancei, in great anxiety he stepped into a church in the road, and prayed with many tears that God would direct him to discover and follow His holy will. He arose steadily fixed in the resolution of embracing the severe Cistercian institute. His brothers and friends endeavoured to dissuade him from it ; but he so pleaded his cause as to draw them all over to join him

in his courageous undertaking. Gauldri, lord of Touillon, near Autun, the saint's uncle, a nobleman who had gained great reputation by his valour in the wars, readily came into the same resolution. Bartholomew and Andrew, two younger brothers of Bernard, also declared that they made the same choice. Guy, the eldest brother, held out longest, having great obstacles which seemed to fix him in the world; for he was married, and had two daughters; but his lady consenting, and professing herself a nun at Laire near Dijon, he also came over. Gerard, the second brother, was not to be so easily overcome, being a captain of reputation, and full of the world; but being soon after wounded in his side by a lance, and taken prisoner, he by serious reflection entered into himself, and ran to join his brothers. Hugh of Macon, a very noble, rich, and virtuous lord (who afterward founded the monastery of Pontigni, and died Bishop of Auxerre), an intimate friend of St. Bernard, upon the news of his design, wept bitterly at the thoughts of his separation, but by two interviews was induced to become his companion. They all assembled in a house at Chatillon, preparing themselves by suitable exercises to consecrate themselves to God in the most perfect dispositions of soul. On the day appointed for the execution of their design Bernard and his brothers went to Fontaines to take their last farewell of their father, and to beg his blessing. They had left Nivard their youngest brother to be a comfort to him in his old age. Going out, they saw him at play with other children of his age, and Guy the eldest said to him, "Adieu, my little brother Nivard; you will have all our estates and lands to yourself." The boy answered, "What! you then take heaven for your portion, and leave me only the earth. The division is too unequal." They went away; but soon after Nivard followed them; so that, of the whole family, there only remained in the world the old father, and with him his daughter St. Humbeline.

Bernard was seconded in his resolutions by thirty noblemen and gentlemen, including his brothers, and after they had stayed six months at Chatillon to settle their affairs, he accompanied them to Citeaux. That monastery had been founded fifteen years, and was at that time governed by St. Stephen. This holy company arrived there in 1113, and, prostrating themselves before the gate, begged to be admitted to join the monks in their penitential lives. St. Stephen seeing their fervour, received them with open arms, and gave them the habit. St. Bernard was then twenty-three years old. He entered this house in the desire to die to the remembrance of men, to live hidden, and be forgotten by creatures, that he might be occupied only on God. To renew his fervour against

sloth he repeated often to himself this saying of the great Arsenius : Bernard, Bernard, "why camest thou hither?" He practised himself what he afterward used to say to postulants who presented themselves to be admitted into his monastery at Clairvaux : "If you desire to live in this house, you must leave your body ; only spirits must enter here ;" that is, persons who live according to the Spirit. He studied to mortify his senses, and to die to himself in all things. This practice by habit became a custom, and by custom was almost changed into nature, so that his soul being always occupied on God, he seemed not to perceive what passed about him, so little notice did he take of things, as appeared in several occurrences. After a year's novitiate he did not know whether the top of his cell was covered with a ceiling ; nor whether the church had more than one window, though it had three. Two faults, however, into which he fell, served to make him more watchful and fervent in his actions. The exact author of the Exordium of Citeaux relates, that the saint had been accustomed to say every day privately seven psalms for the repose of the soul of his mother ; but he one day omitted them. St. Stephen knew this by inspiration, and said to him the next morning, "Brother Bernard, whom did you commission to say the seven psalms for you yesterday?" The novice surprised that a thing could be known which he had never discovered to anyone, full of confusion, fell prostrate at the feet of St. Stephen, confessed his fault, and asked pardon, and was ever after most punctual in all his private practices of devotion, which are not omitted without an imperfection ; nor without a sin, if it be done through sloth or culpable neglect. His other offence was, that one day being ordered by his abbot to speak to certain secular friends, he took some satisfaction in hearing their questions and answers, in punishment of which he found his heart deprived of spiritual consolation. In expiation he prayed often prostrate long together at the foot of the altar during five-and-twenty days in sighs and groans, till he was again visited by the divine Spirit. He afterward in necessary conversation kept his mind so carefully recollected on God that his heart did not go astray.

After the year of his novitiate he made his profession in the hands of St. Stephen with his companions in 1114, but with that perfect sacrifice of himself and disengagement of his heart from all creatures which is better imagined than expressed, and which drew on him the most abundant graces. He set out with extraordinary ardour in all his monastic exercises. The saint not being able to reap the corn so as to keep up with the rest, his superior ordered him other work ; but he begged of God that he might be

enabled to cut the corn, and soon equalled the best hands. At his work his soul was continually occupied on God in great fervour, and he used afterwards to say, that he never had any other master in his studies of the Holy Scriptures but the oaks and beeches of the forest; for that spiritual learning in which he became so great an oracle was a gift of the Holy Ghost, obtained by his extraordinary purity of heart, and assiduous meditation and prayer. The peace, humility, and fervour of his soul seemed painted in his countenance, in which the charms of a certain heavenly grace often captivated and surprised those that beheld him, though his face was emaciated, and exceeding pale and wan, and his whole body bore visible marks of his austere penitential life. He almost always laboured under some corporal infirmity, and his stomach, through a habit of excessive fasting, was scarce ever able to bear any solid food. He suffered all his distempers without ever speaking of them, or using any indulgence, unless compelled by those who took notice of them. He often made a scruple of taking on those occasions an herb pottage, in which a little oil and honey were mixed. When another expressed his surprise at his making such a difficulty, he answered, "Did you know how great the obligation of a monk is, you would not eat one morsel of bread without having first watered it with your tears." He used to say, "Our Fathers built their monasteries in damp unwholesome places, that the monks might have the uncertainty of life more sensibly before their eyes." For monasteries were anciently built chiefly in uncultivated deserts, rocks, or swampy lands, though the monks in many places, with incredible industry, drained their morasses, and converted them into gardens and meadows. St. Bernard was a great lover of poverty in his habit, cell, and all other things; but called dirtiness a mark of sloth or of affectation. He seemed, by a habit of mortification and recollection, to have lost all attention to, or relish of food, and often took one liquor for another, when offered him by mistake, so that he once drank oil instead of water. His chief sustenance was coarse bread softened in warm water. All the time which he spent in contemplation seemed short to him, and he found every place convenient for that exercise. He did not interrupt it in the midst of company, conversing in his heart always with God; but he omitted no opportunity of speaking for the edification of his neighbour, and adapted himself with wonderful charity to the circumstances of all ranks, learned or unlearned, nobles or plebeians. Though his writings are filled with holy unction, they cannot convey the grace and fire of his words; and he employed the Holy Scripture with so much readiness and so

happily on all occasions, that therein he seemed to follow the light of the Holy Ghost.

The number of monks being grown too great at Citeaux, St. Stephen founded, in 1113, the monastery of La Ferté upon the river Grosne, in Burgundy, two leagues from Challons on the Saone; and in 1114, that of Pontigni in Champagne, upon the frontiers of Burgundy, four leagues from Auxerre. Hugh, Earl of Troyes, offered a spot of ground in his estates whereon to found a third monastery; and the holy superior, seeing the great progress which Bernard had made in a spiritual life, and his extraordinary abilities for any undertaking in which the divine honour was concerned, gave him a crosier, appointed him abbot, and ordered him to go with twelve monks, among whom were his brothers, to found a new house in the diocese of Langres in Champagne. They walked in procession singing psalms, with their new abbot at their head, and settled in a desert called the *Valley of Wormwood*, encompassed by a wild forest, which then afforded a retreat for abundance of robbers. These thirteen monks grubbed up a sufficient spot, and, with the assistance of the Bishop of Challons and the people of the country, built themselves little cells. This young colony had often much to suffer, and, being several times in extreme necessity, was as often relieved in some sudden unexpected manner, which wonderful effects of kind Providence St. Bernard made use of to excite their confidence in God. These fervent monks, animated by the example of their abbot, seemed to find nothing hard or difficult in their extreme poverty and austerity. Their bread was usually made of coarse barley, and sometimes chiefly of vetches or cockle; and boiled beech-tree leaves were sometimes served up instead of herbs. Bernard at first was so severe upon the smallest distractions and least transgressions of his brethren, whether in confession or in chapter, that although his monks behaved with the utmost humility and obedience, they began to fall into dejection, which made the abbot sensible of his fault. He condemned himself for it to a long silence. At length, being admonished by a vision, he resumed his office of preaching with extraordinary unction and fruit, as William of St. Thierry relates. The reputation of this house, and of the sanctity of the abbot, in a short time became so great, that the number of monks in it amounted to one hundred and thirty, and the country gave this valley the name of *Clara-vallis* or *Clarval*. It is now commonly called Clairvaux or Clervaux, and is situated eleven leagues from Langres in Champagne. This monastery was founded in 1115.

St. Bernard seemed to set no bounds to the austerities which he

practised himself. William of St. Thierry says, that he went to his meals as to a torment, and that the sight of food seemed often his whole refection. His watchings were incredible. He seemed by his mortifications to have brought upon himself a dangerous distemper, and his life was almost despaired of about the end of the year 1116. His great admirer, the learned and good Bishop of Challons, William of Chambeaux, who had formerly been a most eminent professor of theology in the schools of Paris, apprehensive for his life, repaired to the chapter of the Order then held at Citeaux, and obtained authority to govern him as his immediate superior for one year. With this commission he hastened to Clairvaux, and lodged the abbot in a little house without the enclosure, with orders that he should not observe even the rule of the monastery as to eating and drinking ; and that he should be entirely discharged from all care of the affairs of his community. Here the saint lived under the direction of a physician, from whose hands he received everything with silence and an entire indifference. William, the saint's historian, paid him a visit in this situation, and in the description which he gives of Clairvaux says, that the bread which the monks ate seemed rather made of earth than of flour, though it was made of corn of their own sowing in their desert ; and that their other food could have no taste but what extreme hunger or the love of God could give it. Yet the novices found it too dainty.

After a year St. Bernard returned in good health to his monastery, and to the practice of his former austerities. His aged father Tescelin followed him, received the habit at his hands, and died happily soon after at Clairvaux. In 1115, St. Stephen founded the abbey of Morimond in Campagne, though part of the refectory now stands in Lorrain. The four first daughters of Citeaux, namely, La Ferté, Pontigni, Clairvaux, and Morimond, became each a mother-house to many others which are called their filiations. Subordinate to the abbey of Morimond are reckoned seven hundred benefices, chiefly in Spain and Portugal, where five military Orders are subject to it, namely, those of Calatrava, Alcantara, Montesa, Avis, and Christi. But that of Clairvaux has the most numerous offspring. St. Bernard founded, in 1118, the abbey of Three Fountains, in the diocese of Challons ; that of Fontenay, in the diocese of Autun, and that of Tarouca in Portugal. He about that time wrought his first miracle, restoring to his senses, by singing Mass, a certain lord, his relation, called Josbert de la Ferté, that he might confess his sins, though he died three days after. When the saint had confidently promised this miraculous restoration of Jospert, his uncle Balderic or Baudri, and his

brother Gerard, fearing for the event, were for correcting his words ; but the saint reproving their diffidence, repeated the same assurance in stronger terms ; for the saints feel a secret supernatural instinct when for the divine honour they undertake to work a miracle. The author of St. Bernard's life adds an account of other sick persons cured instantaneously by the saint's forming the sign of the Cross upon them, attested by eye-witnesses of dignity and unexceptionable veracity. The same author and Manriquez relate certain visions by which the saint was informed in what manner some of his monks were delivered from purgatory, by Masses said for the repose of their souls ; and of the glory of others. They also mention that, in 1121, St. Bernard founded the abbey of Foigni, in the diocese of Laon, in which the venerable bishop of that see made his monastic profession. The church of that monastery was exceedingly haunted by flies, till by the saint's saying he excommunicated them, they all died, and such swarms of them appeared there no more, which malediction of the flies of Foigni became famous to a proverb. The saint about that time began to compose his works.

Being obliged to take a journey to Paris in 1122, at the request of the Bishop and Archdeacon, he preached to the students who were candidates for Holy Orders, many of whom were so moved by his discourses, that they accompanied him back to Clairvaux, and persevered there with great fervour. Several German noblemen and gentlemen who called to see that monastery were so strongly affected with the edifying example of the monks, that after they had gone a little way, discoursing together upon what they had heard from the saint's mouth, and observed in his holy community, they agreed to return, hung up their swords, and all took the habit. Their conversion appeared the more wonderful as, till that day, they had lived full of worldly vanity, and passionately addicted to combats of chivalry, and the foolish pride of tilts and tournaments. Humility made the saint sincerely to regard himself as utterly unworthy and incapable of admonishing others ; but the ardour of his zeal and charity opened his mouth, and he poured forth his thoughts with such a strength of eloquence, and tender affective charity and humility, that his words could not fail to inflame the most frozen hearts.

He received into his monastery monks who came to him from Cluni, and other Orders that were less austere ; but declared that he was most willing to dismiss any of his own who should desire to pass to any other religious institute, out of the motive of seeking their greater perfection. So little did he think of the interest of his own body, which easily becomes a cloak to avarice and

ambition, that he yielded to the Order of Premontr  and others several good foundations which were first offered him ; he was several times chosen Bishop of Langres and Challons, and Archbishop of Genoa, Milan, and Rheims, but so strenuously opposed the motion with entreaties and tears, that the popes were unwilling to offer too great violence to his humility, and seemed with the whole world to stand in awe of his wonderful sanctity. In 1120, he was for a long time confined to his cell by a dangerous fit of sickness, and in the year 1125, in which, during a grievous famine, he had often exhausted the provisions of his monastery to furnish the poor with bread, he seemed by a dangerous distemper brought to the very gates of death. It happened in this fit of illness that he once appeared to those about him as if he had been in his agony, and, his monks being all assembled round him, he fell into a trance, in which he seemed to himself to behold the devil grievously accusing him before the throne of God. To every part of the charge he made only this answer : " I confess myself most unworthy of the glory of heaven, and that I can never obtain it by my own merits. But my Lord possesseth it upon a double title : that of natural inheritance by being the only begotten Son of His Eternal Father ; and that of purchase, He having bought it with His precious blood. This second title He hath transferred on me ; and, upon this right, I hope, with an assured confidence, to obtain it through His adorable passion and mercy." By this plea, the perverse accuser was confounded, and disappeared, and the servant of God returned to himself, and shortly after recovered his former state of health.

Most affecting are the sentiments of profound humility, holy fear, and compunction, which this great saint discovers. He tells us that he embraced God by his two *feet*, that of His mercy and that of His justice ; to exclude, by the latter, sloth and presumption ; and by the former, despair and anxiety. He declares often, in the most moving terms, how much he was penetrated with this saving fear, which he nourished in his soul by having the divine judgments always before his eyes. " I am seized all over," says he, " with horror, dread, and trembling, whenever I repeat within myself that sentence, '*Man knoweth not whether he be worthy of love or hatred.*'" Compunction is the parent of sincere humility ; and in this our saint appeared always most admirable. Inculcating to others the advantages and obligations of this virtue, he observes, that so great is its excellency, that pride dares not show itself naked, but seeks to appear in a mask, and puts on that of humility, which he defines a virtue by which a man, from a true knowledge of himself, is contemptible in his own eyes. Whence he puts us



in mind that it resides partly in the understanding and partly in the will ; for it is founded in a perfect knowledge of ourselves, that is, of our nothingness, sinfulness, baseness, weakness, and absolute insufficiency. Nor is this to be a speculative, but a feeling and experimental knowledge, by which we sincerely despise ourselves, as deserving all contempt, disgrace, and chastisement from all creatures ; and as unworthy of all mercy, grace, or favour, temporal or spiritual, all which are the most pure gratuitous effects of the divine goodness in favour of undeserving creatures. He discovers the most profound sense of his own baseness and wretchedness, and treats himself as the outcast of all creatures. The praises and esteem of others were to him the most stinging reproaches, and covered him with confusion and grief, because they only showed the opinion of others concerning him, and what he ought to be, not what his actions were ; for he saw them to be full only of stench and corruption. " All commendation bestowed on us," said he, " is flattery, and the joy which is conceived from it is foolish vanity." To some he said, " My monstrous life, and my afflicted conscience, cry towards you for compassion ; for I am a kind of amphibious creature, that neither lives as an ecclesiastic nor as a recluse. When you have learned my dangers, favour me with your advice and prayers." In another place he says, " They who praise me truly reproach and confound me." These and the like sincere protestations were extorted from him by his profound contempt of himself, and desire that all should know his baseness. For, as he observes, nothing is more base than that refined pride which feigns an affected humility, and would needs wear its mask to make humility itself support its vanity. To raise glory from humility is not the mark, but the ruin of that virtue. " He who is truly humble would be reputed vile and abject," says he, " not humble." He never ceased to inculcate this virtue to others as the measure of their advancement in sanctity ; and he often repeated to his monks that he among them was the greatest before God who was the most humble in his own eyes.

It is related in the *Exordium of Citeaux*, that one day in a conference which the saint made to the choir monks, he declared publicly that he doubted not but the humility of a certain lay-brother, then absent, gave to his actions a higher degree of true perfection than any one of the choir monks had attained to, and that this person, though perfectly ignorant of profane literature, was the best-skilled in the science of the saints, the true knowledge of himself. For he was always condemning himself as a miserable criminal in the presence of God ; and his soul was so entirely

employed on his own weaknesses and imperfections, that he saw nothing else in himself, and only virtue in every one else. St. Bernard one day seeing him bathed in tears, asked him the reason. The humble monk told him, "Miserable sinner as I am, I see all heroic virtues practised by my brother who works with me, but have not myself one degree of the least among them. I beseech you to pray that God will grant me in His mercy those virtues which through my sinfulness and sloth I neglect to dispose myself to obtain." Another lay-brother was obliged to watch the sheep in the fields all night on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, to which he had a singular devotion. When the bell rung to matins at midnight, condemning himself as unworthy to join his brethren in singing the divine praises, he turned his face towards the church, and lifting up his eyes towards heaven, with a thousand genuflections and protestations, continued till morning a repetition of the Hail Mary; every time with fresh ardour praising his Redeemer, and imploring His mercy through the intercession of His virgin Mother. His humble devotion, simplicity, and obedience, were discovered by God to St. Bernard, who preferred his virtue in this action to that of the most perfect penitents and contemplatives in that house of saints. True humility removes a soul as far from pusillanimity and abjection as from pride and presumption; for it teaches a man to place his whole strength in God alone. Hence sprang that greatness of soul and undaunted courage, with a firm confidence in the divine goodness and mercy, that astonishes us in the actions and writings of this saint. It would be too long to mention the wonderful instances of these and other virtues, especially of his devotion, tender charity, and ardent zeal. He nourished them in his heart by a spirit of prayer and retirement, the characteristic virtue of the monastic state. "Believe me upon my own experience," said he to those whom he invited into his order, "you will find more in the woods than in books; the forests and rocks will teach you what you cannot learn of the greatest masters." Meaning that to learn the secrets of heaven and the science of saints, solitude, sanctified by penance and contemplation, is the best school. He severely condemns those monks who wandered out of their cells; and, out of a love of the world and dissipation, intruded themselves into the ministry of preaching. To one of those he said, "It is the duty of a religious man to weep, not to teach. Cities must be to him as prisons, and solitude his paradise. But this man, on the contrary, finds solitude his prison, and cities his paradise." This saint, though charity often called him abroad, never left his cell

but with regret ; and, amidst crowds, his soul was interiorly recollected, and often quite absorbed in God. When he had walked a whole day on the borders of the lake of Lausanne, hearing his companions in the evening mention the lake, he was surprised, affirming that he had never seen it, and did not know that there was a lake there. The saint, who had contracted so close a friendship with Guigo, prior of the great Chartreuse, and the monks of his order, that he seemed to be with them as one heart and one soul, happened once to pay them a visit at the Chartreuse on a horse which he had borrowed of a friend. The prior Guigo was surprised to see him use a fine bridle, and spoke to him of it. The saint answered in surprise, that he had never taken notice either of the bridle or saddle. So much was he accustomed by habit, when he was free from the necessity of applying his mind to external business, to immerse himself in the consideration of invisible truths, that he seemed at those times scarce to have any sense or memory left for earthly things. St. Bernard was particularly devoted to the Blessed Virgin, as his works sufficiently declare. In one of his missions into Germany, being in the great church at Spire, he repeated thrice in a rapture : "O merciful ! O pious ! O gracious Virgin Mary !" which words the Church added to the anthem *Salve Regina*. The custom was introduced from this devotion of St. Bernard to sing that anthem every day with great solemnity in the cathedral of Spire. The same is done every Saturday in the Cistercian Order, and with particular devotion at La Trappe.

Notwithstanding St. Bernard's love of retirement, obedience and zeal for the divine honour frequently drew him from his beloved cell ; and so great was the reputation of his learning and piety that all potentates desired to have their differences determined by him ; bishops regarded his decisions as oracles or indispensable laws, and referred to him the most important affairs of their churches. The popes looked upon his advice as the greatest support of the holy see, and all people had a very profound respect and an extraordinary veneration for his person and sanctity. It may be said of him, that even in his solitude he governed all the churches of the West. But he knew how to join the love of silence and interior recollection of soul with so many occupations and employs, and a profound humility with so great elevation. The first occasion which called for his zeal abroad was a dissension between the Archbishop and citizens of Rheims, whom the saint reconciled, confirming his words by the miraculous cure of a boy that was deaf, blind, and dumb, which he performed in that city, as is recorded by the abbot of St. Thierry. He opposed the elections of

unworthy persons to the episcopacy, or other ecclesiastical dignities, with the zeal of an Elias, which raised him many enemies, who spared neither slanders nor invectives against him. Their commonplace topic was, that a monk ought to confine himself to his cloister. To this he answered, that a monk was a soldier of Christ, as well as other Christians, and ought to defend the truth and the honour of God's sanctuary. By his exhortations Henry, Archbishop of Sens, and Stephen, Bishop of Paris, renounced the court and their secular manner of living. Suger, who was chosen abbot of St. Denis in 1122, was made by King Lewis VI., surnamed the Big or the Fat, prime minister, and by Lewis the Young, for some time regent of the kingdom; and the reins of the government of the French monarchy have seldom been put in the hands of an abler or better statesman. Whilst he held this employment he lived in great state, and St. Bernard reproached him, in his Apology, with having fifty attendants in his train. But so efficacious were the discourses with which our saint entertained him on the obligations of his state, that he laid aside his worldly views, resigned all his posts, and shut himself up in his abbey of St. Denis, where he banished the court out of his abbey, re-established austerity and regular discipline, and made an edifying end in 1152, after having built, in three years and three months, the stately church of that abbey as it now stands. The remarkable conversions of innumerable great princes and prelates wrought by St. Bernard are too long to be inserted. He often put ecclesiastics in mind of their strict obligation of giving whatever they enjoyed of Church revenues above a necessary maintenance to the poor. Thus he wrote to the Dean of Languedoc, "You may imagine that what belongs to the Church belongs to you while you officiate there. But you are mistaken, for though it be reasonable that one who serves the altar should live by the altar, yet must it not be to promote either his luxury or his pride. Whatever goes beyond bare nourishment, and simple plain clothing, is sacrilege and rapine." In this, his own conduct was at all times a true model. In a great famine in 1125, to relieve the poor, he often left his monks destitute of all provisions.

After the death of Honorius II. in 1130, Innocent II. was chosen pope on the same day by the greater number of cardinals. But, at the same time, a faction attempted to invest with that supreme dignity Cardinal Peter, the son of Leo, who took the name of Anacletus. He had formerly been a monk of Cluni, was an ambitious worldly man, and so powerful that he got all the strongholds about Rome into his hands. Innocent II., who was a holy man,

and had been duly elected, was obliged to fly to Pisa. Upon this unhappy contest a council of French bishops was held at Etampes, twenty-five miles from Paris, to which St. Bernard was invited. He strenuously maintained the justice of Innocent's cause, who was recognised by the council, and soon after came into France. He was splendidly received at Orleans by King Lewis the Big. St. Bernard waited on him, and accompanied him to Chartres, where he met Henry I., King of England. That prince was at first inclined to favour the antipope, but was better informed by St. Bernard, and persuaded to acknowledge Innocent. The saint followed the Pope into Germany, and was present at the conference which he had with the Emperor Lothaire at Liege, who recognised the lawful pope, but demanded of him the right of giving the investitures of bishoprics. St. Bernard's remonstrances struck him dumb, and made him humbly alter his resolution. His Holiness held a council at Rheims in 1131, and went from Auxerre to visit Cluni and Clairvaux. At this latter place, he was received in procession, as in other places, but without any splendour; the monks were clad in coarse habits, and before them was carried a homely wooden crucifix, and they sung leisurely and modestly hymns and anthems, not one lifting up their eyes or casting them about to see who was near them. The Pope, and several of his assistants, could not contain their tears at the sight. The bread which was served at table was made of coarse flour that had never been sifted; the repast was made up of herbs and legumes; a dish of fish was got ready, but this was only for His Holiness. The year following, St. Bernard attended the Pope into Italy, and reconciled to him Genoa and some other cities. At length he arrived with him at Rome, whence he not long after was sent into Germany, to make peace between the Emperor Lothaire II. and the two nephews of Henry V. his predecessor: Conrad III., Duke of Suabia (who succeeded Lothaire in the empire), and Frederic, the father of Frederic I. or Barbarossa, who ascended the throne after Conrad. The saint in this journey signalized every stage he made by the conversion of many sinners, and, among others, of Aloide, Duchess of Lorraine, sister to the Emperor Lothaire, who had for a long time dishonoured her rank and religion by her scandalous deportment. St. Bernard having happily pacified the troubles of Germany, returned into Italy, being obliged by the Pope to assist at the Council of Pisa in 1134, in which the schismatics were excommunicated. After the conclusion of this synod the Pope sent him to Milan, to reconcile that city to the Holy See. He wrought there many miracles, and wherever he came was received as a man sent from heaven. He easily in-

duced the Milanese to renounce the schism ; and in all places, and in all affairs, succeeded to a miracle. The authors of his life remark that nothing was more admirable in him than his extraordinary humility amidst the greatest honour and respect imaginable, with which he was everywhere treated.

Having happily finished his negotiation at Milan, he returned to his dear solitude at Clairvaux, in the same year, 1134, and after performing his prayer in the church, made a most pathetic, affectionate discourse to his monks. He was soon after called abroad into Brittany ; and afterward into Guienne, where William, the powerful and haughty duke of that province, violently persecuted those that adhered to the true pope, and had on that account expelled the bishops of Poitiers and Limoges. Gerard, bishop of Angouleme, an abettor of the schism, encouraged him in these excesses. This William (who is styled duke sometimes of Aquitain, sometimes of Guienne, which was part of Aquitain) was a prince of high birth, immense wealth, a gigantic stature and strength of body, and extraordinary abilities in worldly affairs ; but was in his youth impious, haughty, and impatient of the least control. He seemed not to be able to live out of war, and was so shamelessly abandoned to his passions and lusts, as to have kept his brother's wife three years by main force, glorying in his iniquities like Sodom. St. Bernard, in 1130, took an occasion to visit the monastery of Chatelliers, which he had then lately founded in Poitou, on purpose to have an opportunity of endeavouring to reclaim this prince from his scandalous disorders. The duke listened to him with great respect during seven days, and appeared to be much affected by his discourses on the last things, and on the fear of God. Nevertheless, he was not yet converted. St. Bernard, who had learned never to despair of the most obstinate sinner, redoubled his tears, prayers, and pious endeavours, till he had the comfort to see him begin to open his heart to the divine grace. When he abetted the schism, the saint, by several conferences, brought him over to the obedience of the rightful pope, but could not prevail upon him to restore the two bishops whom he had unjustly deprived of their sees. At length he had recourse to more powerful arms. He went to say Mass, the duke and other schismatics staying without the door, as being excommunicated persons. After the consecration, and the giving of the peace before the Communion, the holy abbot put the host upon the paten, and carrying it out, with his eyes sparkling with zeal, charity, and devotion, and his countenance all on fire, spoke to the duke no longer as a supplicant, but with a voice of authority, as follows :

“Hitherto we have entreated you and prayed you, and you have always slighted us. Several servants of God have joined their entreaties with ours, and you have never regarded them. Now, therefore, the Son of the Virgin, the Lord and Head of that Church which you persecute, comes in person to see if you will repent. He is your Judge, at whose Name every knee bends, both in heaven, earth, and hell. He is the just Revenger of your crimes, into whose hands this your obstinate soul will one day fall. Will you despise Him? Will you be able to slight Him as you have done His servants? Will you?” Here the duke, not being able to hear any more, fell down in a swoon. St. Bernard lifted him up, and bade him salute the Bishop of Poitiers, who was present. The astonished prince was not able to speak, but went to the Bishop, and led him by the hand to his seat in the church; expressing by that action, that he renounced the schism, and restored the bishop to his see. After this, the saint returned to the altar and finished the sacrifice. A particular impulse of the Holy Ghost, the great Authority of the saint, and the dignity with which this man of miracles was enabled to perform so extraordinary an action, make it an object of our admiration, though not of imitation.

The abbot, leaving the churches of Guienne thus settled in peace, returned to Clairvaux. But the duke, who had been a worldly and tyrannical prince, relapsed into his former habits, and committed new acts of violence. The saint being informed thereof, wrote him a strong remonstrance, which, through the divine grace, made so deep an impression upon his mind, that his conversion was rendered complete. From that time he honoured the Bishop of Poitiers so much the more as he had formerly persecuted him; and shortly after resolving entirely to devote himself to a penitential life, he sent for this prelate, and in his presence made his last will, wherein he declared, that “In honour of our Saviour and all the saints, and being penetrated with sorrow for his innumerable sins, and with the fear of the last judgment; likewise considering that all the goods which we seem to possess vanish in our hands like smoke, and leave only bitterness, anguish, and pain, he was resolved to forsake all things in order to follow God, and to obtain more perfectly His holy love. He added, that he left his daughters under the protection of the King, and desired that Eleanor, the elder of them, should marry him, if the barons of Aquitaine consented, giving to her Aquitaine and Poitou, and to his daughter Petronilla his estates in Burgundy, and to all the monasteries in his dominions one thousand livres of yearly rent to be distributed

by his barons." After this he put on the habit of a pilgrim, entered upon an austere course of life, and undertook a penitential pilgrimage to Compostella, in which some say he died at Leon in Spain. Others tell us he survived this pilgrimage, and passed some time in a hermitage in a wilderness before God called him to Himself. Thus by the prudence and zeal of St. Bernard was the schism extinguished in so many kingdoms ; but it was still protected by Roger, King of Sicily, and Duke of Calabria. The Pope called the saint to Viterbo in 1137, and thence sent him to this prince. Bernard, in a public conference at Salerno, convicted Anaclet's partizans of schism, and brought over many persons of distinction to the union of the Church ; but Roger, having ambitious views to maintain the usurped possession of the duchy of Benevento, continued inflexible. The saint foretold his defeat in a battle he was preparing to fight with Duke Ranulph, whose forces were much inferior in number ; and taking leave of him, hastened back to Clairvaux. The death of the antipope in 1138 opened the way to the peace of the Church, for though the schismatics chose one Gregory to the papacy, he surrendered his pretensions to Innocent II. Hereupon Bernard sued to the Pope for the pardon of those who had been engaged in the schism.

The saint was himself obliged to exert his zeal also in maintaining the purity of the Catholic faith, which he employed so often and with such success in the support of its unity and discipline. He heard of no dangerous innovator in the doctrine of the Church with whom he did not enter the list. One of these was the unhappy Peter Abelard, or Abailard, in whose writings certain errors were discovered, which were condemned in the council of Soissons in 1121 ; and he so far acquiesced in the censure as to cast his book into the flames. In 1139, William, abbot of St. Therry, discovered several erroneous principles in his later writings, and informed Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, who was legate of the Holy See, and St. Bernard, saying, they were the only persons who could crush the mischief in its embryo. St. Bernard wrote a strong letter of private admonition to Abelard, but was answered by insults and loud complaints. He informed Pope Innocent II. of Abelard's errors and conduct by a long letter, and also wrote to several French prelates upon that subject. A council of bishops met at Sens in 1140 upon this affair. St. Bernard was unwilling to appear, acquainting the bishops it was their business. Hereupon Abelard triumphed, and his friends said, Bernard was afraid to encounter him face to face. The saint therefore was obliged to be present. But Abelard, who dreaded above all things the elo-



quence and learning of the holy abbot, only presented himself in the council to hear the charge, drawn up by St. Bernard out of his own book, read against him ; for he declined giving any express answer to the articles charged upon him, though he had the liberty given him to do it, had very favourable judges, and was in a place where he had no reason to fear anything. After having recourse to shifts, he appealed to the Pope, and then withdrew from the synod with those of his party.' The bishops condemned fourteen propositions extracted out of his works, and wrote to Pope Innocent II., who confirmed their sentence, imposed perpetual silence on Abelard as an heretic, and ordered that he should be imprisoned. Abelard wrote an apology, in which he gave a Catholic exposition to several of his propositions. St. Bernard accused him of denying the Trinity with Arius, of destroying the Incarnation with Nestorius, of taking away the necessity of grace with Pelagius, of having bragged that he was ignorant of nothing ; of being never willing to say of anything, *Nescio*, I do not know it ; of pretending to expound inexplicable things, to comprehend incomprehensible mysteries, and to give reasons for what is above reason. It is manifest from his apology, and chiefly from his book, entitled an Introduction to Theology, which had raised this storm, that he advanced several propositions absolutely heretical, others which, though he expounded them more favourably, were new, harsh, and intolerable. One of the errors contained at this day in his writings is the system of the Optimists, renewed by Leibnitz, pretending that everything in the world being the best, God could not have made or done anything any other way than He has done it. After he had published his Apology, he set out on his journey towards Rome ; but stopping at Cluni, he was persuaded by the abbot, Peter the Venerable, to recall whatever he had wrote which gave offence, and to wait upon St. Bernard. He did so, and was reconciled to him. With the Pope's leave he resolved to spend the remainder of his life at Cluni, and behaved himself there with great humility and piety for two years. Towards the end of his life he was sent for his health to the monastery of St. Marcellus at Challons upon the Seine, where he died in 1142, being sixty-three years old. His body was sent to the abbey of Paraclet, to be interred, and Peter the Venerable wrote to Eloïsa an edifying account of his death.

Arnold of Brescia, his disciple, was not so happy as to imitate his repentance and submission. He was a native of Brescia, in Italy, became a scholar of Abelard, took the habit of a monk, and falling into many errors, preached them at the head of armed

troops, first in France, and afterwards in Italy. He taught, that neither the Pope nor the clergy ought to possess temporal estates ; and erred about several other articles of faith. St. Bernard, by his writings and labours, opposed the ravages of this wolf in sheep's clothing. St. Bernard drew his portrait in lively colours when, among other things, he says : " Arnold of Brescia is a man who neither eats nor drinks, because, like the devil, he thirsts only after the blood of souls. His conversation has nothing but sweetness, and his doctrine nothing but poison. He has the head of a dove, but the tail of a scorpion." His description of Abelard is not less strong. He says he was a man always unlike himself, altogether equivocal and inconstant ; that he had nothing of a monk but the name and habit, and that his life was the contrast of his character or profession. He adds, to express his vanity, that he knew everything that is in heaven and earth but himself. Another person of eminence in that age, by deviating from the Scripture and tradition to philosophize on the mysteries of religion, adulterated their simplicity. This was Gilbert de la Porree, a famous professor of theology at Poitiers, and at length bishop of that city. He was accused of heterodox opinions by his two archdeacons. His doctrine was begun to be examined in an assembly of prelates at Auxerre in 1147, and continued in another held at Paris the same year before Pope Eugenius III., who was lately come into France. St. Bernard, on account of his eloquence and learning, was pitched upon to open the charge ; but as Gilbert denied that he had ever advanced the propositions imputed to him, it was decreed that his writings should be examined, and the decision referred to the council which was to be held at Rheims the year following. In this synod Gilbert openly maintained what he had taught in his writings, that the Godhead, or form by which God is God, is *really* distinguished from God ; likewise that His wisdom, justice, and other attributes, are not *really* God Himself ; that the divine nature or essence is *really* distinct from the Three Persons, and that the divine nature was not incarnate, but only the second Person, which he held to be *really* distinct from the nature. St. Bernard demonstrated that no real distinction can be admitted between the nature and the persons, or between the attributes and the nature, or between the attributes themselves ; for in God all is perfect unity and simplicity, without any *real* distinction, except that of relation between the Three Persons ; any other real multiplicity and produce a composition repugnant to the essential simplicity and unity of God. Four propositions of Gilbert were censured by this council, and he himself retracted and condemned them. On

this account his person was spared. Some of his disciples continued to maintain his erroneous opinions, and are confuted by St. Bernard. Gilbert died in 1154.

The heresies broached by Abelard, Gilbert, and many others, at this time, took their rise from an abuse of the scholastic theology, as Abelard himself acknowledged after his conversion, making a long enumeration of errors which sprung up in his time. The Holy Scriptures and the tradition of the Church being the sources and foundation of all genuine theology, St. Anselm raised on them his excellent structure, by bringing the different parts more into order, under general heads, and illustrating each part with the additional force of logical reasoning. This method was followed by all sound scholastics, especially St. Thomas, whose divine science was derived from his perfect skill in the Holy Scriptures, and in the writings of the most approved Fathers; taking St. Austin for his chief guide in questions of speculation, St. Ambrose and St. Gregory in moral resolutions, and St. Chrysostom in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; he employs human reasoning with the most happy penetration, but so as to make it everywhere subservient to these principles; but these were quite lost sight of by some who, in the shoal of philosophers and theologians which appeared in the twelfth age, pursued, in many questions, only the subtle imaginations of their own refining genius, a rock against which many great men have suffered shipwreck in faith. St. Bernard opposed this fatal abuse with that erudition and eloquence of which his works are a standing monument. The Cistercian Order, in its origin, like the Carthusians, was devoted to the practice of penance, assiduous contemplation, and the angelical function of singing the divine praises. Wherefore it did not admit the ordinary dissipation of scholastic disputations. Yet we find a foundation made for teaching little children in a monastery of this order in the diocese of Bazas, in 1128. And learned men were everywhere received into it, and allowed all means of improving themselves in the sciences, and of thus serving the Church. The first founders, SS. Alberic, Stephen, and Bernard, were persons eminently learned. Conrad, son of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, was famous for his learning at Cologne, before he professed himself a monk of Clairvaux, in 1126. Henry, a son of King Lewis the Big, who was a monk under St. Bernard, and afterward successively Bishop of Beauvais and Archbishop of Rheims, was a good scholar; and many among the most eminent doctors in the Church embraced this institute. The revision of the Bible, made by St. Stephen and his brethren, proves that some of them then understood the Oriental

languages. To encourage learning, St. Bernard was very solicitous to furnish all his monasteries with good libraries. The manual labour in which the Cistercian and Benedictin monks at that time employed themselves was not only to till the ground, but frequently to copy books ; several beautifully illuminated, which were writ at Clairvaux, in St. Bernard's time, are still shown there.

The great reputation of the sanctity of St. Bernard and his monks drew many great men to his order. The monastery of Clairvaux, which is at present a most stately and spacious structure, was in his time a low and mean building ; yet he left in it at his death seven hundred monks. He founded, before his death, one hundred and sixty other monasteries ; and their number was so much increased after his death, that before the dissolution of monasteries in Britain and the Northern kingdoms, eight hundred abbeys were subject to Clairvaux, being filiations of that house. In 1126, Otho, the son of Leopold, Duke of Austria, and of Agnes, daughter to the Emperor Henry IV., brother to the Emperor Conrad III., with fifteen other young German princes, one of whom was Henry, Earl of Carinthia, made their monastic profession together at Morimond ; in 1115 thirty gentlemen had done the same on one day at Citeaux ; a company of young noblemen did the like at Bonnevaux ; once at Clairvaux one hundred novices took the habit on the same day. The Cistercian annals, and *Le Nain*, mention two persons of quality who professed themselves lay-brothers in this order, the one to be shepherd of the monastery, the other, whose name was Lifard, to keep the hogs. In 1120, Alexander, a prince of the royal blood of Scotland, and in 1172, Silo, a learned and famous professor at Paris, and Alan, another professor in the same place, so renowned for his skill in theology, and all other sciences, that he was surnamed the Universal Doctor, humbly made their profession among the Cistercians in the quality of lay-brothers.

Evrard, Earl of Mons, was so touched with compunction for a sin he had committed in war in Brabant, that in his return homewards from that expedition, having disguised himself in mean apparel, he set out at midnight, and, unknown to any one, performed a penitential pilgrimage to Rome and Compostella. After his return he hired himself, in the same spirit of penance, to keep swine under the lay-brothers in a farm belonging to the abbey of Morimond. Some years after, a servant of two officers who in the army had been under his command, coming to this farm to inquire the road, knew him by his voice and features, and in surprise went and told his master that their lord was there, and keeper of the hogs. They rode up to the place, and though he at first strove

to disguise himself, they knew him ; and dismounting, embraced him with tears of joy, and all possible tokens of respect. When they had informed the abbot, he came down to the farm, and learned the truth from the holy penitent's own mouth, who confessed to him his sin with a flood of tears. The abbot persuaded him to take the religious habit, and to complete the sacrifice of his penance in the monastery. Evrard received the advice with great humility and joy, and acknowledging himself most unworthy, made his monastic profession. About the same time, he founded the abbey of Einberg in Germany, and that of Mount Saint George in Thuringia. This happened in 1142. His holy death is recorded in the Necrology of the Cistercians on the 20th of March. The lay-brothers were at that time very numerous in this order ; St. Bernard had a particular affection for them, and it seemed his greatest pleasure to instruct them in the interior paths of perfect virtue. It is recorded of one of them at Clairvaux, that he had so perfectly subdued the passion of anger as always to feel in his heart, instead of any motion of impatience, a particular affection and sensible tenderness for any one from whom he received an injury. It was his constant custom to say an Our Father for every one that did him any wrong, spoke harshly to him, or accused him of any fault in chapter, which practice has from him passed into a rule in this order. A certain monk, named Nicholas, whom St. Bernard had converted from a secular life in the world, was much afflicted that he lived in the company of saints without the spirit of compunction. St. Bernard comforted him, and by his prayers obtained for him that gift in so eminent a degree, that even when he ate, travelled, or conversed with others, tears trickled down his cheeks.

Our saint had, at Clairvaux, a monk whose name was Bernard, and who took his surname from Pisa in Italy, of which city he was a native. He was a person of learning and abilities, and had made such progress in monastic perfection, that when Pope Innocent II. repaired, and gave to St. Bernard, the monastery of the Three Fountains, commonly called of SS. Vincent and Anastasius, near Rome, the saint appointed him first abbot of the colony which he planted there. Innocent II. died in 1143 ; his successor, Celestine II., lived in the pontificate only five months and some days, and Lucius II., who followed him, died about the end of his first year, on the 26th of February, 1145. The abbot Bernard of Pisa was chosen in his place, and took the name of Eugenius III. St. Bernard was struck with surprise at the news, and wrote to the cardinals, conjuring them to assist him with their best prayers. Fearing lest

so great an exaltation should make him forget himself, and some of the high obligations of his charge, he wrote to him five books "Of Consideration," pressing upon him, without flattery, the various duties of his station, and strongly recommending to him always to reserve time for self-examination, and daily contemplation, applying himself still to this more than to business. He proves to him, that consideration serves to form and to employ in the heart all virtues. He puts the Pope in mind, that he is in the utmost danger of falling, by the multiplicity of affairs, into a forgetfulness of himself, and hardness of heart, the thought of which danger made the saint tremble for him, and tell him that his heart was already hardened, and made insensible, if he did not continually tremble for himself. Most succeeding popes have highly esteemed and been accustomed often to read this excellent work.

King Lewis the Big died in 1137, leaving five sons besides Lewis his successor, namely Henry, a monk of Clairvaux, who died Archbishop of Rheims; Robert, Count of Dreux, head of that royal branch, long since extinct; Peter, lord of Courtenay, of which territory he married the heiress, from whom is descended the present family of Courtenays in France; Philip, Archdeacon of Paris (who being chosen bishop, modestly yielded that dignity to Peter Lombard); and Hugh, of whom we have no particular account. The father, after the death of his eldest son Philip, had caused Lewis to be crowned in his own life-time, who thereupon, for distinction, was called Lewis the Young, which surname he retained even after his father's death. The Christians in Palestine were at that time much distressed. The Latins had, by the first crusade, erected there four principalities, namely, that of Edessa, which comprehended a large country that lay upon the Euphrates; those of Tripoly and Antioch, which were extended all along the sea of Phœnicia; and lastly the kingdom of Jerusalem, which, by the death of Fulk, in 1142, was devolved on his son Baldwin III., only thirteen years of age. The Saracen caliphs at Bagdat having lately lost their empire, reserved only a sacred authority as interpreters of the Mahometan law; for the Salsuccian Turks, who embraced their religion, obtained the sovereignty first in Persia, and soon after in Asia Minor, and in Syria. In this last country, Melech and Ducat were the first Turkish sultans at Aleppo. Their successor, Sanguin, was a famous general, and at his death left his warlike son Noradin possessed of that dignity, a prince endowed with all the qualities of a conqueror. He took Edessa, and threatened the other three principalities of the Christians, who were in no condition to defend themselves, and therefore sent ambas-

sadors into Europe, to desire immediate succour from the Christian princes. Lewis VII., or the Young, received the message favourably. Pope Eugenius III., coming into France in 1147, held there several councils to promote a second crusade, and, at the King's request, commissioned St. Bernard to preach the holy war. This the abbot executed with incredible success in all the chief provinces of France. He afterwards did the same in the principal cities of Germany.

The authority of his sanctity and prudence was not less established in the empire than in Italy and France. When Lothaire II., Duke of Saxony, was chosen emperor upon the demise of Henry V. in 1125, the two nephews of the late emperor (Conrad, Duke of Franconia, and Frederick, Duke of Suabia) raised a dangerous rebellion; but St. Bernard prevailed with them to lay down their arms, and reconciled them to Lothaire, who ruled with great piety and tranquillity, treating even those who had been his enemies with mildness and generosity, and protecting the Holy See. He exceedingly honoured St. Bernard, and died, without leaving any male issue, in 1138. Conrad III. succeeded him in the imperial dignity. He, on this occasion, received St. Bernard with honour, took the cross from his hands at Spire, accompanied him through several cities, and the same year set out for the Levant, at the head of an army of sixty thousand horse, and almost as many foot, the bravest that had been seen. King Lewis took the cross in an assembly of the princes and prelates of his realm at Vezelay in Burgundy, appointed his prime minister, Abbot Suger, regent of France during his absence, and followed the emperor into the East. Manuel Comnenus was at that time Emperor of Constantinople, the son of John, and grandson of that Alexis who had used the first crusaders so ill. Manuel had some good qualities, but his policy degenerated into trick and treachery. Though Conrad was his brother-in-law, he received him at Constantinople with great coldness. The Germans crossed the straits, and marched through Bithynia towards Lycaonia. Lewis passed the Rhine at Worms, and the Danube at Ratisbon, and marching through Hungary, arrived at Constantinople in October, two months after the Germans. Conrad, deceived by guides whom the Greeks had given him, engaged his army in the deserts on the borders of Cappadocia, where his cavalry could not act. In this place the Mahometans surrounded his troops in the month of November, 1147, and cut them to pieces, where not a tenth part of them were able to engage. Conrad, after paying a private visit of devotion to the holy places at Jerusalem, the year following returned in great affliction to Germany.

Lewis, passing into Asia, took his route by the sea-side through Smyrna and Ephesus, and advancing towards Laodicea, in Lydia, in the beginning of the year 1148, encamped on the banks of the Meander, a river difficult to pass on account of its depth, and the height of its banks. He crossed it, however, with some loss ; but beyond Laodicea, by the ill conduct of him who commanded the van, which he had separated too far from the rest of the army, his rear was cut to pieces. The King escaped with great difficulty. Pushing forwards, he left behind him a great part of his forces at Attalia, a seaport of Pamphylia, where they mouldered away in great want of provisions through the treachery of the Greeks. The King himself went thence by sea into the principality of Antioch, and arrived in the port of St. Simeon in the mouth of the Orontes, five leagues below that capital. Raymund, Prince of Antioch, the Queen's uncle, received him with all due honours. The scandalous amours of his queen Eleanor at Antioch gave him great vexation. However, he laid siege to Damascus ; but, through the jealousy of some Christian lords, this enterprise did not succeed. Wherefore the King, having performed his devotions at Jerusalem, returned by sea into Europe. He landed in Calabria, in Italy, and passing through Rome, arrived in France. He found his kingdom in the utmost tranquillity through the wise conduct and steady management of Abbot Suger, who was honoured with the title of Father of his country, and had the chief share in the administration both in this and the preceding reign. This wise statesman had advised the King against the expedition ; but when it was resolved upon, had most liberally concurred to promote it. The ill success of this crusade is chiefly ascribed by all our historians to the treachery of the Greeks ; but the finger of God was visible in chastising the sins of the Christians. A great part even of those who composed the crusade were led by no other motive than the prospect of plunder, were lawless, and committed every kind of disorder in their march. To those who were conducted by motives of sincere penance and religion, these afflictions were trials for the exercise of their virtue. This unfortunate expedition raised a great storm against St. Bernard, because he had seemed to promise success. His answer was, that he confided in the divine mercy for a blessing on an enterprise undertaken for the honour of His divine name ; but that the sins of the army were the cause of their misfortunes. The zeal of our saint was at the same time employed in the conversion of notorious sinners and heretics.

Henry, an apostate monk, a disciple of Peter Bruis, had spread in Aquitain, and in the diocese of Mans, the same errors which his master and others had propagated in Provence and Languedoc,



deceiving and ingratiating themselves with the people by violent invectives against the Pope, bishops, and clergy, which is usually the first step towards defection from the Church. Cardinal Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, was sent by the Pope, in 1147, legate into Languedoc and Aquitain, to endeavour to apply some remedy to this evil. The legate took St. Bernard with him in this mission, and the saint, not only by the reputation of his sanctity, and the force and eloquence of his zealous discourses, but also by many evident miracles, animated the faithful, and brought back to the truth many that were seduced. Geoffrey, some time the saint's secretary, accompanied him at that time, and relates many miracles to which he was an eye-witness. He tells us, that at Sarlat, a town in Perigord, the man of God, blessing with the sign of the Cross some loaves of bread which were brought to him for that purpose, said, "By this shall you know the truth of our doctrine, and the falsehood of that which is taught by the heretics, if such as are sick among you recover their health by tasting these loaves." Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, who stood near the saint, being fearful of the event, said, "That is, if they taste with a right faith, they shall be cured." But the holy abbot replied, "I say not so; but assuredly they that taste shall be cured, that you may know by this that we are sent by authority derived from God, and preach His truth." Accordingly, a great multitude of sick persons were cured by tasting that bread. The same author assures us, that when the saint lodged at St. Saturninus's, a house of regular canons at Toulouse, one of the canons lay at the point of death, quite emaciated, and so weak that he could not rise from his bed even on the most necessary occasions; but that by a visit and prayer of the saint he was restored to perfect health. "That instant," says our author, "he rose from his bed, and following after, overtook us, and kissed the blessed man's feet, with that eager devotion which is not to be imagined but by those who saw it." The bishop of the place, the legate, and the people went to the church, the man who had been sick leading the way, and gave thanks to God for this blessing. This canon became a monk of Clairvaux, and was abbot of Valdeau when this account was wrote. Many other like miracles were wrought by the man of God at Meaux, Constance, Basil, Spire, Frankfort, Cologn, Liege, and other places where he preached, as the same author relates, some in presence of the Emperor Conrad and his court at Spire, all publicly, persons of the first rank in the Church and State looking on, and confessing, with astonishment, that the hand of God was with His servant.

Fleury has inserted in his history a journal of this saint's miracles attested by ten venerable and faithful vouchers, and Mabillon has proved their incontestable authenticity. But we may regard his admirable sanctity as the greatest of his miracles. This, diffusing its bright beams on every side, was a light not only to his own disciples, but to the whole Church. In 1151 Gumard, king of Sardinia, made a visit to Clairvaux, and was so edified with what he saw practised there, that he returned the year following, and made his religious profession in that house. In 1148 Pope Eugenius III. visited the saint at Clairvaux, and afterward assisted at the general chapter of that order held at Citeaux, in which the whole Order of Savigni, consisting of thirty monasteries, passing into that of Citeaux, out of respect to St. Bernard, became a filiation of Clairvaux. The saint had founded a monastery for nuns of his order at Billette or Julli, in the diocese of Langres, in 1113. His sister, St. Humbeline, embraced this institute in 1124, and by the abundance of graces that Heaven bestowed on her, she arrived at so high a degree of sanctity as to be the admiration of all who saw her, and a subject of the greatest joy to her holy brother and director. She often watched almost the whole night in reciting psalms, and meditating on the sacred passion of Christ, taking only a little rest on some boards. She was always one of the first at every duty of the community, and acquitted herself in a manner that edified the most fervent, and inflamed those that were lukewarm. Thus she lived seventeen years; in her last sickness she was visited by St. Bernard, and amidst his prayers and exhortations, in sentiments of holy joy and humble confidence in the divine mercy, she breathed out her holy soul on the 21st of August, 1141. Her name is commemorated among the saints.

In the beginning of the year 1153 St. Bernard fell into a decay, with a loss of appetite and frequent fainting fits. He had long dwelt in heaven in desire, sighing continually under the weight of his banishment from God, though this desire he by humility ascribed to pusillanimity, not to charity. "The saints," said he, "were moved to pray for the corporal dissolution out of a desire of seeing Christ; but I am forced hence by scandals and evils. I confess myself overcome by the violence of storms, and through want of courage." Such desires arising from pusillanimity would be a criminal impatience; but the vehemence of divine love was the spring of these ardent sighs in our saint, as he pathetically discovers in many other passages. His distemper considerably abating, he ascribed this symptom of recovery to the prayers of his spiritual children, with whom he expostulated as follows: "Why do you detain a wretched sinner here below? your prayers have

prevailed over my wishes ; but have compassion on me ; suffer me to go to God." However, he clearly foretold them, that this delay would not exceed six months. During this interval the inhabitants of Metz having been attacked and defeated with great slaughter, by certain neighbouring princes, they were vehemently bent on revenge. To prevent the shedding of blood the Archbishop of Triers went to Clairvaux, and fell at the saint's feet, earnestly entreating him to undertake a journey to Metz, in order to reconcile the parties that were at variance. At this call of charity the servant of God forgot his corporal infirmity, and immediately repairing thither, prevailed on both sides to lay aside their resentment, and overcome their former enmity by mutual benefactions, and tokens of sincere charity and kindness. When he was come back to Clairvaux his distemper returned with more grievous symptoms. With regard to physicians he doubtless observed his own rule, not neglecting ordinary helps and medicines, yet rejecting those that are extraordinary, and the instruments of delicacy, not of real service ; but his disease was too strong for nature to resist with all the succours which art could bring to its relief. His stomach was so weak as to be scarce able to bear the least nourishment taken even in liquids, his legs swelled exceedingly as if he had had a dropsy, and he was hardly able so much as to close his eyes for ever so few moments. Seeing his spiritual children assembled about him all in tears, he comforted and encouraged them, saying that the unprofitable and unfruitful servant ought not to occupy a place in vain, and that the barren tree with good reason ought to be plucked up. His charity for them inclined him to be willing to remain with them till they should be gathered with him to God ; but his earnest desire speedily to enjoy Christ made him to sigh ardently after the possession of Him who filled the whole capacity of his heart. Commending, therefore, his brethren to the divine mercy, he, with inflamed sighs of compunction and holy love, prepared himself for his last moment, in which he happily yielded up his soul to God, on the 20th of August, 1153, the sixty-third of his age, having been abbot thirty-eight years. He was buried before our Lady's altar at Clairvaux. His name was solemnly enrolled among the saints by Alexander III. in 1165. M. Villefore has prefixed to the life of St. Bernard his portrait, engraved from an old picture drawn from the life when the saint was sixty-two years old.

This holy doctor was during his life the oracle of the Church, the light of prelates, and the reformer of discipline ; since his death he still continues to comfort and instruct devout persons by his most pious and learned writings. The judicious critic, Henry

Valois, sticks not to say they are the most useful for piety among all the works of the Fathers of the Church, though he is the youngest of them in time. To pass over the eulogiums which pious writers have bestowed on him, and to appeal to the judgment which the merit of his works hath extorted from the most severe and dry critics, Sixtus Senensis saith of him, "His discourse is everywhere sweet and ardent; it so delighteth and fervently inflameth, that from his most sweet tongue honey and milk seem to flow in his words, and out of his most ardent breast, a fire of burning affections breaks forth." Erasmus gives him this character: "Bernard is cheerful, pleasant, and vehement in moving the passions." And in another place, "He is Christianly learned, holily eloquent, and devoutly cheerful and pleasing." The Protestants who oppose his doctrine admire his piety and learning. Bishop Morton says of him, "In the midst of darkness Bernard shone forth with the light as well of his example as of his learning." And Bishop Carleton writes, amidst many invectives, "I would to God we had at this day many, nay, but one, such as it is certain and manifest Bernard was."

The eminent sanctity and sublime gift of contemplation which we admire in the saint had their foundation in his profound humility. We shall be so far disciples of Christ as we shall imitate His servant in the study of this virtue. It is a lesson which St. Bernard often repeats, that it is to be acquired by the knowledge of ourselves and of God, and by frequent humiliations. "Let thy consideration begin from thyself and end in thyself, what, who, and what kind of being thou art," says this saint. He complains that many men know many things; measure the heavens, count the stars, and pretend to dive into mysteries of faith, and secrets of nature; whose science is all folly and empty vanity, because they know not themselves, consequently have not learned the first elements of the science of the saints. Learning, which fills men with presumption and self-conceit, banishes the Holy Ghost with His gifts out of their souls; the most illiterate idiot is more capable of receiving Him, and His heavenly wisdom. So long as men see in their own imagination, not themselves, but certain phantoms raised by their own pride, quite different from what they are, so long are they incapable of true piety, of the gift of prayer and of the true heavenly treasure. A deep sense of our own entire nothingness, weakness, sinfulness, and unworthiness, which makes us empty of ourselves, and ready to give all glory to God alone, is the key to the grace of compunction, contemplation, divine love, and all sincere and Christian virtue. This knowledge of ourselves must be improved and perfected by the study and knowledge of God,

His infinite greatness, goodness, mercy, glory, and other perfections, in which we most perfectly see our own nothingness, and learn sincerely to give all glory to God alone, and to place our whole trust in Him and in His mercy. As one ray of the sun enlightens the earth much better than all the stars together, so one ray of this heavenly light discovers to us our own imperfections and miseries more clearly than all our study and reflections on ourselves can do. This knowledge of God is chiefly infused into our souls through the channel of contemplation and devout humble prayer, in which, the nearer our hearts approach the throne of God, and the more they see His infinite majesty, the more shall we with Abraham, Isaias, and Job, drown ourselves in the abyss of our own nothing. Hence we must pray with St. Austin, "Lord, teach me to know Thee, and to know myself;" Thee to love and glorify alone in all things; myself never secretly to confide in, or ascribe any good to. *Domine noverim te, noverim me.* St. Bernard adds, that besides the foundation of this double knowledge, humility is to be improved by repeated humiliations. "Humiliations," says he, "are the road to humility, as meekness in suffering tribulations and injuries produces patience. If you do not exercise humiliations, you cannot attain to humility." *Humiliatio via est ad humilitatem. Si non vis humiliari, non poteris ad humilitatem provehi.*

## SAINT BENEDICT, ABBOT,

PATRIARCH OF THE WESTERN MONKS.

A.D. 543.

ST. BENEDICT, or BENNET, was a native of Norcia, formerly an episcopal see in Umbria, and was descended from a family of note, and born about the year 480. The name of his father was Eutropius, and that of his grandfather, Justinian. When he was fit for the higher studies, he was sent by his parents to Rome, and there placed in the public schools. He, who till that time knew not what vice was, and trembled at the shadow of sin, was not a little shocked at the licentiousness which he observed in the conduct of some of the Roman youth, with whom he was obliged to converse; and he was no sooner come into the world but he resolved to bid an eternal farewell to it, not to be entangled in its snares. He therefore left the city privately, and made the best of his way towards the deserts. His nurse, Cyrilla, who loved him tenderly, followed him as far as Afilum, thirty miles from Rome, where he found means to get rid of her, and pursued his journey alone to the desert mountains of Sublacum, near forty miles from Rome. It is a barren, hideous, chain of rocks, with a river and a lake in the valley. Near this place the saint met a monk of a neighbouring monastery, called Romanus, who gave him the monastic habit, with suitable instructions, and conducted him to a deep narrow cave in the midst of these mountains, almost inaccessible to men. In this cavern, now called the Holy Grotto, the young hermit chose his abode; and Romanus, who kept his secret, brought him hither, from time to time, bread and the like slender provisions, which he retrenched from his own meals, and let them down to the holy recluse with a line, hanging a bell to the cord to give him notice. Bennet seems to have been about fourteen or fifteen years old when he came to Sublacum; St. Gregory says, he was yet a child. He lived three years in this manner known only to Romanus. But God was pleased to manifest His servant to men, that he might shine forth as a light to many. In 497, a certain pious priest in that country,

whilst he was preparing a dinner for himself on Easter-Sunday, heard a voice which said, "You are preparing for yourself a banquet, whilst my servant Bennet, at Sublacum, is distressed with hunger." The priest immediately set out in quest of the hermit, and with much difficulty found him out. Bennet was surprised to see a man come to him ; but before he would enter into conversation with him, he desired they might pray together. They then discoursed for some time on God and heavenly things. At length the priest invited the saint to eat, saying, it was Easter-day, on which it is not reasonable to fast, though St. Bennet answered him, that he knew not that it was the day of so great a solemnity, nor is it to be wondered at, that one so young should not be acquainted with the day of a festival which was not then observed by all on the same day, or that he should not understand the Lunar Cycle, which at that time was known by very few. After their repast the priest returned home. Soon after certain shepherds discovered the saint near his cave, but at first took him for a wild beast ; for he was clad with the skins of beasts, and they imagined no human creature could live among those rocks. When they found him to be a servant of God, they respected him exceedingly, and many of them were moved by his heavenly discourses to embrace with fervour a course of perfection. From that time he began to be known, and many visited him, and brought him such sustenance as he would accept, in requital for which he nourished their souls with spiritual instructions. Though he lived sequestered from the world, he was not yet secure from the assaults of the tempter. Wherever we fly the devil still pursues us, and we carry a domestic enemy within our own breasts. St. Gregory relates that whilst St. Bennet was employed in divine contemplation, the fiend endeavoured to withdraw his mind from heavenly objects, by appearing in the shape of a little black bird ; but that, upon his making the sign of the Cross, the phantom vanished. After this, by the artifices of this restless enemy, the remembrance of a woman, whom the saint had formerly seen at Rome, occurred to his mind, and so strongly affected his imagination, that he was tempted to leave his desert. But blushing at so base a suggestion of the enemy, he threw himself upon some briars and nettles which grew in the place where he was, and rolled himself a long time in them till his body was covered with blood. The wounds of his body stifled all inordinate inclinations, and their smart extinguished the flame of concupiscence. This complete victory seemed to have perfectly subdued that enemy ; for he found himself no more molested with its stings.

The fame of his sanctity being spread abroad, it occasioned

several to forsake the world, and imitate his penitential manner of life. Some time after, the monks of Vicovara, on the death of their abbot, pitched upon him to succeed him. He was very unwilling to take upon him that charge, which he declined in the spirit of sincere humility, the beloved virtue which he had practised from his infancy, and which was the pleasure of his heart, and is the delight of a God humbled even to the Cross, for the love of us. The saint soon found by experience that their manners did not square with his just idea of a monastic state. Certain sons of Belial among them carried their aversion so far as to mingle poison with his wine; but when, according to his custom, before he drank of it, he made the sign of the Cross over the glass, it broke as if a stone had fallen upon it. "God forgive you, brethren," said the saint, with his usual meekness and tranquillity of soul; "you now see I was not mistaken when I told you that your manners and mine would not agree." He therefore returned to Sublacum, which desert he soon peopled with monks, for whom he built twelve monasteries, placing in each twelve monks with a superior. In one of these twelve monasteries there lived a monk who, out of sloth, neglected and loathed the holy exercise of mental prayer, insomuch that after the psalmody or divine office was finished, he every day left the church to go to work, whilst his brethren were employed in that holy exercise; for by this private prayer in the church, after the divine office, St. Gregory means pious meditation, as Dom Mege demonstrates. This slothful monk began to correct his fault upon the charitable admonition of Pompeian, his superior; but, after three days, relapsed into his former sloth. Pompeian acquainted St. Benedict, who said, "I will go and correct him myself." Such indeed were the danger and enormity of this fault, as to require the most effectual and speedy remedy. For it is only by assiduous prayer that the soul is enriched with the abundance of the heavenly water of divine graces, which produces in her the plentiful fruit of all virtues. If we consider the example of all the saints, we shall see that prayer was the principal means by which the Holy Ghost sanctified their souls, and that they advanced in perfection in proportion to their progress in the holy spirit of prayer. If this be neglected, the soul becomes spiritually barren, as a garden loses all its fruitfulness, and all its beauty, if the pump raises not up a continual supply of water, the principle of both. St. Benedict, deploring the misfortune and blindness of this monk, hastened to his monastery, and coming to him at the end of the divine office, saw a little black boy leading him by the sleeve out of the church. After two days' prayer St. Maurus saw the same; but Pompeian could not see this



vision, by which was represented that the devil studies to withdraw men from prayer, in order that, being disarmed and defenceless, they may easily be made a prey. On the third day, St. Benedict finding the monk still absent from church in the time of prayer, struck him with a wand, and by that correction the sinner was freed from the temptation. Dom German Millet tells us, from the tradition and archives of the monastery of St. Scholastica, that this happened in St. Jerom's. In the monastery of St. John, a fountain sprung up at the prayers of the saint, this, and two other monasteries which were built on the summit of the mountain, being before much distressed for want of water. In that of St. Clement, situate on the bank of a lake, a Goth, who was a monk, let fall the head of a sickle into the water as he was cutting down thistles and weeds in order to make a garden ; but St. Maur, who, with St. Placidus, lived in that house, holding the wooden handle in the water, the iron of its own accord swam, and joined it again, as St. Gregory relates. St. Benedict's reputation drew the most illustrious personages from Rome and other remote parts to see him. Many, who came clad in purple, sparkling with gold and precious stones, charmed with the admirable sanctity of the servant of God, prostrated themselves at his feet to beg his blessing and prayers, and some, imitating the sacrifice of Abraham, placed their sons under his conduct in their most tender age, that they might be formed to perfect virtue from their childhood. Among others, two rich and most illustrious senators, Eutychius, or rather Equitius, and Tertullus, committed to his care their two sons, Maurus, then twelve years old, and Placidus, also a child, in 522. The devil envying so much good, stirred up his wicked instruments to disturb the tranquillity of the servant of God. Florentius, a priest in the neighbouring country, though unworthy to bear that sacred character, moved by a secret jealousy, persecuted the saint, and aspersed his reputation with grievous slanders. Bennet, being a true disciple of Christ, knew no revenge but that of meekness and silence ; and not to inflame the envy of his adversary, left Sublacum, and repaired to Mount Cassino. He was not got far on his journey, when he heard that Florentius was killed by the fall of a gallery in which he was. The saint was much afflicted at his sudden and unhappy death, and enjoined Maurus a penance for calling it a deliverance from persecution.

Cassino is a small town, now in the kingdom of Naples, built on the brow of a very high mountain, on the top of which stood an old temple of Apollo, surrounded with a grove in which certain idolaters still continued to offer their abominable sacrifices. The

man of God having, by his preaching and miracles, converted many of them to the faith, broke the idol to pieces, overthrew the altar, demolished the temple, and cut down the grove, upon the ruins of which temple and altar he erected two oratories or chapels; one bore the name of St. John the Baptist, the other of St. Martin. This was the origin of the celebrated abbey of Mount Cassino, the foundation of which the saint laid in 529, the forty-eighth year of his age, the third of the Emperor Justinian, Felix IV. being pope, and Athalaric king of the Goths in Italy. The patrician, Tertullus, came about that time to pay a visit to the saint, and to see his son Placidus; and made over to this monastery several lands which he possessed in that neighbourhood, and also a considerable estate in Sicily. St. Bennet met on Mount Cassino one Martin, a venerable old hermit, who, to confine himself to a more austere solitude, had chained himself to the ground in his cell, with a long iron chain. The holy abbot, fearing this singularity might be a mark of affectation, said to him, "If you are a servant of Jesus Christ, let the chain of His love, not one of iron, hold you fixed in your resolution." Martin gave proof of his humility by his obedience, and immediately laid aside his chain. St. Bennet governed also a monastery of nuns, situate near Mount Cassino, as is mentioned by St. Gregory; he founded an abbey of men at Terracina, and sent St. Placidus into Sicily to establish another in that island. Though ignorant of secular learning, he was eminently replenished with the Spirit of God, and an experimental science of spiritual things, on which account he is said by St. Gregory the Great to have been "learnedly ignorant and wisely unlettered." For the alphabet of this great man is infinitely more desirable than all the empty science of the world, as St. Arsenius said of St. Antony. From certain very ancient pictures of St. Benedict and old inscriptions, Mabillon proves this saint to have been in holy orders, and a deacon. Several moderns say he was a priest, but, as Muratori observes, without grounds. By the account which St. Gregory has given us of his life, it appears that he preached sometimes in neighbouring places, and that a boundless charity opened his hand; he distributed among the needy all that he had on earth, to lay up his whole treasure in heaven. St. Bennet, possessing perfectly the science of the saints, and being enabled by the Holy Ghost to be the guide of innumerable souls in the most sublime paths of Christian perfection, compiled a monastic rule, which, for wisdom and discretion, St. Gregory the Great preferred to all other rules; and which was afterward adopted for some time by all the monks of the West. It is principally founded on silence, solitude, prayer, humility, and obedience.

St. Bennet calls his order a school in which men learn how to serve God ; and his life was to his disciples a perfect model for their imitation, and a transcript of his rule. Being chosen by God, like another Moses, to conduct faithful souls into the true promised land, the kingdom of heaven, he was enriched with eminent supernatural gifts, even those of miracles and prophecy. He seemed, like another Eliseus, endued by God with an extraordinary power, commanding all nature ; and like the ancient prophets, foreseeing future events. He often raised the sinking courage of his monks, and baffled the various artifices of the devil with the sign of the Cross, rendered the heaviest stone light in building his monastery by a short prayer, and, in presence of a multitude of people, raised to life a novice who had been crushed by the fall of a wall at Mount Cassino. He foretold with many tears that this monastery should be profaned and destroyed, which happened forty years after, when the Lombards demolished it about the year 580. He added, that he had scarce been able to obtain of God that the inhabitants should be saved. It was strictly forbid by the rule of St. Benedict for any monk to eat out of his monastery, unless he was at such a distance that he could not return home that day, and this rule, says St. Gregory, was inviolably observed. Indeed, nothing more dangerously engages monks in the commerce of the world, nothing more enervates in them the discipline of abstinence and mortification, than for them to eat and drink with seculars abroad. St. Gregory tells us, that St. Bennet knew by revelation the fault of one of his monks who had accepted of an invitation to take some refreshment when he was abroad on business. A messenger who brought the saint a present of two bottles of wine, and had hid one of them, was put in mind by him to beware drinking of the other, in which he afterward found a serpent. One of the monks, after preaching to the nuns, had accepted of some handkerchiefs from them, which he hid in his bosom ; but the saint, upon his return, reproved him for his secret sin against the rule of holy poverty. A novice, standing before him, was tempted with thoughts of pride on account of his birth. The saint discovered what passed in his soul, and bid him make the sign of the Cross on his breast.

When Belisarius, the Emperor's general, was recalled to Constantinople, Totila, the Arian king of the Goths, invaded and plundered Italy. Having heard wonders of the sanctity of St. Bennet, and of his predictions and miracles, he resolved to try whether he was really that wonderful man which he was reported to be. Therefore, as he marched through Campania, in 542, he sent the man of God word, that he would pay him a visit. But instead of going

in person, he dressed one of his courtiers, named Riggo, in his royal purple robes, and sent him to the monastery, attended by the three principal lords of his court, and a numerous train of pages. St. Bennet, who was then sitting, saw him coming to his cell, and cried out to him at some distance, "Put off, my son, those robes which you wear, and which belong not to you." The mock king, being struck with a panic, for having attempted to impose upon the man of God, fell prostrate at his feet, together with all his attendants. The saint, coming up, raised him with his hand; and the officer returning to his master, related trembling what had befallen him. The king then went himself, but was no sooner come into the presence of the holy abbot but he threw himself on the ground and continued prostrate till the saint, going to him, obliged him to rise. The holy man severely reprov'd him for the outrages he had committed, and said, "You do a great deal of mischief, and I foresee you will do more. You will take Rome; you will cross the sea, and will reign nine years longer; but death will overtake you in the tenth, when you shall be arraigned before a just God to give an account of your conduct." All which came to pass as St. Benedict had foretold him. Totila was seized with fear, and recommended himself to his prayers. From that day the tyrant became more humane; and when he took Naples, shortly after, treated the captives with greater lenity than could be expected from an enemy and a barbarian. When the Bishop of Canusa afterward said to the saint, that Totila would leave Rome a heap of stones, and that it would be no longer inhabited, he answered, "No; but it shall be beaten with storms and earthquakes, and shall be like a tree which withers by the decay of its root." Which prediction St. Gregory observes to have been accomplished.

The death of this great saint seems to have happened soon after that of his sister St. Scholastica, and in the year after his interview with Totila. He foretold it his disciples, and caused his grave to be opened six days before. When this was done, he fell ill of a fever, and on the sixth day he would be carried into the chapel, where he received the body and blood of our Lord, and having given his last instructions to his sorrowful disciples, standing and leaning on one of them, with his hands lifted up, he calmly expired, in prayer, on Saturday, the 21st of March, probably in the year 543, and of his age the sixty-third, having spent fourteen years at Mount Cassino. The greatest part of his relics remains still in that abbey, though some of his bones were brought into France, about the close of the seventh century, and deposited in the famous abbey of Fleury, which, on that account,

has long borne the name of St. Bennet's on the Loire. It was founded in the reign of Clovis II. about the year 640, and belongs at present to the congregation of St. Maur.

St. Gregory, in two words, expresses the characteristic virtue of this glorious patriarch of the monastic order, when he says, that, returning from Vicovara to Sublaco, he dwelt alone with himself, which words comprise a great and rare perfection, in which consists the essence of holy retirement. A soul dwells not in true solitude unless this be interior as well as exterior, and unless she cultivates no acquaintance but with God and herself, admitting no other company. Many dwell in monasteries, or alone, without possessing the secret of living with themselves. Though they are removed from the conversation of the world, their minds still rove abroad wandering from the consideration of God and themselves, and dissipated amidst a thousand exterior objects which their imagination presents to them, and which they suffer to captivate their hearts, and miserably entangle their will with vain attachments and foolish desires. Interior solitude requires the silence of the interior faculties of the soul, no less than of the tongue and exterior senses : without this, the enclosure of walls is a very weak fence. In this interior solitude, the soul collects all her faculties within herself, employs all her thoughts on herself and on God, and all her strength and affections in aspiring after Him. Thus St. Benedict dwelt with himself, being always busied in the presence of his Creator, in bewailing the spiritual miseries of his soul and past sins, in examining into the disorders of his affections, in watching over his senses and the motions of his heart, and in a constant attention to the perfection of his state, and the contemplation of divine things. This last occupied his soul in the sweet exercises of divine love and praise ; but the first-mentioned exercises, or the consideration of himself and of his own nothingness and miseries, laid the foundation by improving in him continually the most profound spirit of humility and compunction. The twelve degrees of humility, which he lays down in his Rule, are commended by St. Thomas Aquinas. The first is a deep compunction of heart, and holy fear of God and His judgments, with a constant attention to walk in the divine presence, sunk under the weight of this confusion and fear. 2. The perfect renunciation of our own will. 3. Ready obedience. 4. Patience under all sufferings and injuries. 5. The manifestation of our thoughts and designs to our superior or director. 6. To be content, and to rejoice, in all humiliations ; to be pleased with mean employments, poor clothes, etc., to love simplicity and poverty (which he will have among

monks to be extended even to the ornaments of the altar), and to judge ourselves unworthy, and bad servants in everything that is enjoined us. 7. Sincerely to esteem ourselves baser and more unworthy than every one, even the greatest sinners. 8. To avoid all love of singularity in words or actions. 9. To love and practise silence. 10. To avoid dissolute mirth and loud laughter. 11. Never to speak with a loud voice, and to be modest in our words. 12. To be humble in all our exterior actions, by keeping our eyes humbly cast down with the publican, and the penitent Manasses. St. Benedict adds, that divine love is the sublime recompense of sincere humility, and promises, upon the warrant of the divine word, that God will raise that soul to perfect charity which, faithfully walking in these twelve degrees, shall have happily learned true humility. Elsewhere he calls obedience without delay the first degree of humility, but means the first among the exterior degrees ; for he places before it interior compunction of soul, and the renunciation of our own will.

## SAINT CHARLES BORROMEO, CARDINAL,

ARCHBISHOP OF MILAN, AND CONFESSOR.

A.D. 1584.

ST. CHARLES BORROMEO, the model of pastors, and the reformer of ecclesiastical discipline in these degenerate ages, was son of Gilbert Borromeo, Count of Arona, and his lady, Margaret of Medicis, sister to John James of Medicis, Marquis of Marignan, and to Cardinal John Angelus of Medicis, afterwards Pope Pius IV. The family of Borromeo is one of the most ancient in Lombardy, and has been famous for several great men, both in the Church and State. The saint's parents were remarkable for their discretion and piety. Count Gilbert behaved in such a manner in the wars between the French and Spaniards in Lombardy, as to preserve the favour of both courts; and the Emperor Charles V., when he was left in quiet possession of the duchy of Milan, made him senator of the city and colonel, and honoured him with other considerable posts. The Count was so pious, that he communicated every Sunday, said every day the office of the Church on his knees, and often shut himself up for many hours together, in a little retired chapel which he made in the castle of Arona, where, covered with sackcloth, in the habit of a penitent, he spent a considerable part of his time alone at his devotions. By much praying his knees became hard and brawny. He was a tender father to all his tenants and vassals, took care of all orphans, and was so charitable, that his friends often told him he injured his children. To whom he made answer: "If I have care of the poor, God will have care of my children." It was a custom with him never to take any meal without first giving some alms. His abstemiousness and rigorous fasts were not less remarkable than his charities. The Countess was by her pious deportment a living rule to all the ladies in Milan, and to cut off all dangerous visits scarce ever went out of doors but to some church or monastery. Their family consisted of six children, Count Frederic, who afterward married the sister of the Duke of Urbino, and our saint, and

four daughters : Isabel, who became a nun in the monastery called of the Virgins in Milan, Camilla, married to Cæsar Gonzaga, Prince of Malfetto, Jeronima, married to Fabricio Gesualdi, eldest son of the Prince of Venosa, and Anne, married to Fabricio, eldest son of Mark-Antony Colonna, a Roman prince, and viceroy of Sicily. All these children were very virtuous : Anne, though engaged in the world, imitated all the religious exercises and austerities of her brother Charles, prayed many hours together with a recollection that astonished everyone, and in order to increase the fund of her excessive charities, retrenched every superfluous expense in her table, clothes, and house-keeping. By her virtue and the saintly education of her children, she was the admiration of all Italy and Sicily, and died at Palermo in 1582.

St. Charles was born on the 2nd of October, in 1538, in the castle of Arona, upon the borders of Lake-Major, fourteen miles from Milan. The saint in his infancy gave proof of his future sanctity, loved prayer, was from the beginning very diligent in his studies ; and it was his usual amusement to build little chapels, adorn altars, and sing the divine office. By his happy inclination to piety and love of ecclesiastical functions, his parents judged him to be designed by God for the clerical state, and initiated him in it as soon as his age would allow him to receive the tonsure. This destination was the saint's earnest choice ; and though by the canons he was not yet capable of taking upon him an irrevocable obligation, both he and his father were far from the sacrilegious abuse of those who determine their children, or make choice of the inheritance of Christ, with a view merely to temporal interest, or the convenience of their family. Charles was careful, even in his childhood, that the gravity of his dress and his whole conduct should be such as became the sanctity of his profession. When he was twelve years old, his uncle, Julius Cæsar Borromeo, resigned to him the rich Benedictin abbey of SS. Gratinian and Felin, martyrs, in the territory of Arona, which had been long enjoyed by some clergymen of that family in commendam. St. Charles, as young as he was, put his father in mind that the revenue, except what was expended on his necessary education at his studies, for the service of the Church, was the patrimony of the poor, and could not be applied to any other uses, or blended with his other money. The father wept for joy at the pious solicitude of the child ; and though during his son's nonage the administration of the revenues was committed to him, he gave this up to the young saint that he might himself dispose of the overplus in alms, which he did with the most scrupulous fidelity in his accounts. St. Charles learned Latin and humanity



at Milan, and was afterward sent by his father to the university of Pavia, where he studied the civil and canon law under Francis Alciat the eminent civilian, who was afterward promoted, by St. Charles's interest, to the dignity of cardinal, and who had then succeeded in the professorship to Andrew Alciat, whom De Thou commends for banishing barbarism of style out of the schools and writings of lawyers. In a judicious course of the canon law, the articles of our holy faith and the condemnation of heresies are expounded, and often a fuller resolution of practical cases, and of Christian duties, enforced not only from the canons, but also from scriptures, tradition, and the law of nature or reason, than is found in courses of moral theology; and this study, which presupposes some acquaintance with the civil or imperial law, is of great importance for the care of souls, especially in the chief pastors. St. Charles, though on account of an impediment in his speech, and his love of silence, he was by some esteemed slow, yet by the soundness of his judgment, and a diligent application, made good progress in it. And the prudence, piety, and strictness of his conduct rendered him a model of the youth in the university, and proof against evil company, and all other dangers, which he watchfully shunned. Such was the corruption of that place, that several snares were laid for his virtue; but prayer and retirement were his arms against all assaults, and the grace of God carried him through difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable. He communicated every eight days, after the example of his father; and shunned all connections or visits which could interrupt his regular exercises, or hours of retirement: yet was he very obliging to all who desired to speak to him. His father's death brought him to Milan in 1558; but when he had settled the affairs of his family with surprising prudence and address, he went back to Pavia, and after completing his studies took the degree of doctor in the laws toward the end of the year 1559.

A little before this, his uncle, the Cardinal of Medicis, resigned to him another abbey and priory; but the saint made no addition to his private expenses, so that the poor were the only gainers by this increase of his fortune. It was only with a view to the foundation of a college at Pavia that he accepted these benefices. When he had taken the degree of doctor he returned to Milan, where he soon after received news that his uncle, the Cardinal of Medicis, by whom he was tenderly beloved, was chosen pope on the 25th of December, in 1559, in the conclave held after the death of Paul IV. The new Pope being a patrician of Milan, that city made extraordinary rejoicings, and complimented his

two nephews in the most pompous and solemn manner. St. Charles gave no signs of joy on the occasion ; but only persuaded his brother Frederic to go with him to confession and communion, which they did. Count Frederic went to Rome to compliment His Holiness ; but St. Charles stayed at Milan, living in the same manner he did before, till his uncle sent for him, and on the last day of the same year created him cardinal, and on the 8th of February following nominated him archbishop of Milan, when he was in the twenty-third year of his age. The Pope, however, detained him at Rome, placed him at the head of the consult or council, with power to sign in his name all requests, and entrusted him with the entire administration of the ecclesiastical state. St. Charles endeavoured as much as possible to decline these posts, and absolutely refused the camerlingate, the second and most lucrative dignity in the Roman court ; but after he was made priest, he accepted the office of grand penitentiary, wherein he was to labour for God and the people. He was also legate of Bologna, Romaniola, and the marquisate of Ancona, and protector of Portugal, the Low Countries, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, and the Orders of St. Francis, the Carmelites, the Knights of Malta, and others. By the entire confidence which his uncle reposed in him, he may be said to have governed the Church during his pontificate ; and, as he received from him daily the most sensible tokens of the strongest and most sincere affection, so, full of the most tender sentiments of gratitude, he constantly made him the best return of duty, tenderness, and affection he was able ; and studied by his fidelity and diligence in all affairs to be to him a firm support, and to ease and comfort him in all difficulties and perplexities. The sole end which he proposed to himself in all his actions and undertakings was the glory of God, and the good of His Church ; and nothing was more admirable in him than his perfect disinterestedness, and the little regard he had for the most pressing human considerations. For fear of ever deceiving himself, he had about him several persons of approved wisdom and virtue, without whose advice he took no resolution, and to whom he listened with great humility and prudence. In the government of the ecclesiastical state he was very careful that provisions should be everywhere plentiful and cheap, and that all judges and magistrates should be persons of consummate prudence and inflexible integrity. His patience in bearing contradictions and hearing the complaints of persons of all ranks was a proof of his sincere charity. It is incredible what a multiplicity of business he despatched without ever being in a hurry, merely by the dint of unwearied application, by his aversion to idle amusements,

and being regular and methodical in all that he did. He always found time, in the first place, for his devotions and sacred studies, and for conversing with himself by reflection and pious reading. He read also some of the ancient Stoic philosophers, and reaped much benefit from the *Enchyridion* of Epictetus, as he frequently expressed. He was a great patron of learning, and promoted exceedingly all its useful branches among the clergy; and among other establishments for this end, having also in view to banish idleness out of the Pope's court, he instituted in the Vatican an academy of clergymen and seculars whose conferences and studies tended to enforce the practice of virtue, and to promote sacred learning. This academy produced many bishops and cardinals, and one pope, who was Gregory XIII. By the conferences which St. Charles made in this public assembly, he, with much difficulty, overcame a natural bashfulness, and a great imperfection in his speech when he harangued, and he acquired a habit of delivering himself slowly and distinctly, by which he qualified himself to preach the Word of God with dignity and fruit, the object of his most earnest desires. To fashion and perfect his style he read diligently the philosophical works of Cicero, in which he took great delight.

St. Charles judged it so far necessary to conform to the custom of the court as to have a magnificent palace well furnished, to keep a sumptuous equipage, and a table suitable to his rank, and to give entertainments. Yet he was in his heart most perfectly disengaged from all these things, most mortified in his senses, humble, meek, and patient in all his conduct. Honoured and caressed by the whole Christian world, having in his power the distribution of riches and honours, and enjoying himself whatever the world could bestow, he considered in all this nothing but dangers; and far from taking any delight herein, watched with trembling over his own heart lest any subtle poison of the love of the world should insinuate itself, and in all things sought only the establishment of the kingdom of God. Many are converted to God by adversity; but St. Charles, in the softest gale of prosperity, by taking a near view of the emptiness, and arming himself against the snares of the world, became every day more and more disentangled from it, and more an inhabitant of heaven. He sighed after the liberty of the saints, and trembled at the sight both of the dangers and of the obligations of his situation; he also considered that obedience to the chief pastor fixed him for a time at a distance from the Church of Milan, the charge of which he had taken upon himself. And though he had provided for its government and the remedying of its disorders in the best manner he was able, by excellent regula-

tions, by a suffragan bishop named Jerom Ferragata (whom he sent thither to make the visitation and to officiate in his place), and by a vicar-general of great experience, learning, and piety, called Nicholas Ormanetto (who had formerly been grand vicar of Verona, had afterward attended Cardinal Pole in his legation in England, and been there his chief assistant, and after his return would take upon him no other charge but that of a single curacy in the diocese of Verona), yet St. Charles considered the duty of personal service and residence, neither did the command of the Pope, by which he was obliged to attend for some time the government of the universal Church for a greater good and necessity, make him easy.

It happened that Bartholomew de Martyribus, the most pious and learned Archbishop of Braga, came from Trent to Rome to wait upon His Holiness. To him as to a faithful servant of God, enlightened by Him, and best able to direct others in perplexing circumstances, the saint opened his heart in the manner following : " For this long time I have begged of God, with all the earnestness I am able, to enlighten me with regard to the state in which I live. You see my condition. You know what it is to be a pope's nephew, and a nephew most tenderly beloved by him ; nor are you ignorant what it is to live in the court of Rome. The dangers which encompass me are infinite. I see a great number ; and there are a great many more which I do not discern. What then ought I to do, young as I am, and without experience ; and having no part or ingredient of virtue, but through the divine grace an earnest desire of obtaining it ?" The holy cardinal proceeded to explain his difficulties and fears ; then added : " God has inspired me with a vehement ardour for penance, and an earnest desire to prefer His fear and my salvation to all things ; and I have some thoughts of breaking my bonds, and retiring into some monastery, there to live as if there were only God and myself in the world." This he said with an amiable sincerity which charmed the director, who, after a short pause, cleared all his doubts, assuring him by solid reasons, that he ought not to quit his hold of the helm which God put into his hands for the necessary and most important service of the universal Church, his uncle being very old ; but that he ought to contrive means to attend his own church as soon as God should open him a way to it. St. Charles rising up, embraced him, and said God had sent him thither for his sake, and that his words had removed a heavy weight from his heart ; and he begged that God, who by His grace had shown him the station in which it was His will that he should labour in His service, would vouchsafe to support him in it by His divine grace. The

Chrysostoms, the Austins, and the Gregories trembled at the charge of one soul, a burden which would appear dreadful even to angels : he who does not tremble is undone by his presumption. This fear makes the pastor humble, solicitous, always watchful, and earnest in prayer. But this distrust of himself is no longer humility, but abjection and pusillanimity, if it weakens the necessary confidence he ought to have in God when called to undertake anything for His glory. He chooses the weak and the things that are not to confound and beat down the wise and the strong. "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me," said the Apostle. In the same sentiments St. Charles spared not himself, but humbly having continual recourse to God, did wonders for the advancement of His honour.

In November, 1562, the saint's elder and only brother was carried off in the bloom of life and the most flourishing fortune, by a sudden fever. St. Charles, who had never forsaken him during his illness, bore his death, which overwhelmed all other friends with consternation and grief, with surprising resignation ; the sentiments of a lively faith being stronger in him than those of flesh and blood. In profound recollection he adored the decrees of Providence, and was penetrated more seriously than ever with a sense of eternity, and of the instability of human things. All his friends, and the Pope himself, pressed him to resign his ecclesiastical dignities, and marry to support his family ; but more effectually to rid himself of their solicitations, he made more haste to engage himself in orders, and was ordained priest before the end of that year. The Pope soon after created him grand-penitentiary, and Arch-Priest of St. Mary Major. St. Charles founded at that time the noble college of the Borromeos at Pavia, for the education of the clergy of Milan, and obtained several bulls for the reformation of many abuses in ecclesiastical discipline. The Council of Trent, which had been often interrupted and resumed, was brought to a conclusion in 1563, the last session being held on the 5th of December, in which the decrees of all the former sessions under Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV., were confirmed, and subscribed by two hundred and fifty-five Fathers ; viz, four legates of the Holy See, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, thirty-nine deputies of absent prelates, seven abbots, and seven generals of religious orders. Difficulties which seemed insurmountable had been thrown in the way, sometimes by the Emperor, sometimes by the King of France, sometimes by the King of Spain, or others ; and it was owing to the unwearied zeal and prudence, and doubtless to the prayers of St. Charles

Borromeo, that they were all happily removed, who, informing the prelates and princes of his uncle's sickness, engaged them by his pressing solicitations to hasten the close of that venerable assembly. No sooner was it finished but St. Charles began strenuously to enforce the execution of all its decrees for the reformation of discipline. At his instigation, the Pope pressed earnestly all bishops to found seminaries according to the decree of the council, and set the example by establishing such a seminary at Rome, the care of which was committed to the Jesuits. In opposition to the new errors His Holiness published, in 1564, the Creed which bears his name, and commanded all who are preferred to ecclesiastical livings, dignities, etc., to subscribe the same. The council had recommended to the Pope the revival of the Missal and Breviary, likewise the composition of a catechism. To compile this last work, Charles detained at Rome for some time F. Francisco Foreiro, a very learned and pious Dominican, who had attended the council in quality of theologian from the King of Portugal. Foreiro was assisted in this work by Leonardus Marini, Archbishop of Lanciano, and Giles Forscarari, Bishop of Modena, all three Dominicans. The work was revised by Cardinal Sirlet. Paulus Manutius is said to have corrected the style. This is the catechism called of Trent, or the Roman, or *ad Parochos*, which is recommended both by the erudition, exactness, and conciseness with which it is wrote, and by the neatness and elegance of the style, as an excellent judge and master of the Latin style observes. He says the same of the acts of the Church of Milan, or St. Charles's councils. A barbarous and half-Latin language disgraces and derogates from the dignity of the sublime oracles of religion, which, by the dress they wear, appear quite different things, as Secretary Lucchesini elegantly shows. The Roman catechism was published in 1566.

St. Charles had always about him several very learned and virtuous persons: his spiritual director in Rome was F. Ribera, a learned Jesuit, and by his advice he regulated his retreats and devotions. He had the greatest confidence in F. Foreiro during the year that he detained him in Rome before he returned to Portugal; and the saint conversed much with other pious and religious men, and was assisted by some in reviewing a course of theological studies. He retrenched his retinue, discharging the greater part of his domestics, after handsomely recompensing every one of them; he neither wore any silk, nor allowed any in his family to do it; he banished all superfluities from his house and table, fasted once a week on bread and water, and made every day two meditations of an hour. Full of tenderness for

his flock, he wrote every week long and most zealous and affectionate letters to his grand vicar, and sent some learned Jesuits thither to preach, whom he settled in the Church of St. Vitus. Ormanetto began to build a seminary, published the Council of Trent, held a diocesan synod, in which twelve hundred persons were assembled, and made the visitation of the churches and monasteries of the city, and part of the country. But finding it impossible to reform all abuses, he wrote to St. Charles, begging leave to return to his curacy, and representing to him that no other but himself could put things upon a proper footing. This advice pierced the good pastor to the quick, and he renewed his solicitations with his uncle with so much earnestness that he obtained leave to go to Milan, but only to hold a provincial council, and make his visitation.

King Philip II. had settled upon St. Charles a yearly pension of nine thousand crowns, and confirmed to him the gift of the principality of Oria, which he had before bestowed on his elder brother, Frederic. The Pope, before his departure, created him legate *à latere* through all Italy. The saint left Rome on the 1st of September in 1565, stopped some days at Bologna, where he was legate, and he was received at Milan with the utmost joy and pomp that can be imagined, the people calling him in their acclamations a second St. Ambrose. After having prayed a long time prostrate before the Blessed Sacrament in the great church, he went to his palace, and received visits, but made this necessary ceremony of civility as short as possible. On Sunday he made a pathetic sermon, and soon after opened his first provincial council, at which assisted two foreign cardinals and eleven suffragan bishops, among whom were Bernardin Scoti, Cardinal of Trani, Bishop of Placentia, Guy Ferrier, Bishop of Vercelli (to whom St. Charles gave the cardinal's hat in this council, by his uncle's deputation), Jerom Vida, the famous Bishop of Alba, and Nicholas Sfondrat, Bishop of Cremona, afterward Pope Gregory XIV. Five suffragan bishops (of whom two were cardinals) sent deputies, being themselves hindered from making their appearance; the suffragan see of Ventimil was vacant. The dignity, majesty, and piety with which this council was celebrated by a young cardinal, only twenty-six years of age, and the excellence of its regulations for the reception and observance of the Council of Trent, for the reformation of the clergy, the celebration of the divine office, the administration of the sacraments, the manner of giving catechism in all parish churches on Sundays and holidays, and many other points, surprised every one; and the Pope wrote to St. Charles a letter of congratulation. When the council was broke up, St. Charles set

about the visitation of his diocese ; but went through Verona to Trent, by the Pope's orders, to receive the two sisters of the Emperor Maximilian II., Barbara, married to Alphonsus of Esti, Duke of Ferrara, and Jane, married to Francis of Medicis, Duke of Florence. The former he attended to Ferrara, and the latter as far as Fiorenzola in Tuscany, where he received news by an express that the Pope lay dangerously ill. He hastened to Rome, and being informed by physicians that his uncle's life was despaired of, he went into his chamber, and showing him a crucifix which he held in his hand, said to him, "Most Holy Father, all your desires and thoughts ought to be turned towards heaven. Behold Jesus crucified, who is the only foundation of our hope ; He is our Mediator and Advocate : the Victim and Sacrifice for our sins. He is goodness and patience itself ; His mercy is moved by the tears of sinners, and He never refuses pardon and grace to those who ask it with a truly contrite and humbled heart." He then conjured His Holiness to grant him one favour, as the greatest he had ever received from him. The Pope said, anything in his power should be granted him. "The favour which I most earnestly beg," said the saint, "is, that as you have but a very short time to live, you lay aside all worldly business and thoughts, and employ your strength and all your powers in thinking on your salvation, and in preparing yourself to the best of your power for your last passage." His Holiness received this tender advice with great comfort, and the Cardinal gave strict orders that no one should speak to the Pope upon any other subject. He continued by his uncle's bedside to his last breath, never ceasing to dispose him for death by all the pious practices and sentiments which his charity could suggest, and administering himself the viaticum and extreme unction. Pope Pius IV. was also assisted in his last moments by St. Philip Neri, and died on the 10th of December, in 1565, being sixty-six years and nine months old, and having sat six years, wanting sixteen days. His last words as he expired were : "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." In the conclave, in which St. Charles had much the greatest sway, our saint's conduct was such as convinced his colleagues that he had nothing but the glory of God and the good of the Church at heart, and that the most subtle passions which so often blind men in their views, and insinuate themselves into their actions, had no place in his heart. At first he had thoughts of preferring Cardinal Morone, whose moderation, zeal, and experience had recommended him at Trent, or the most pious Cardinal Sirlet ; but, finding obstacles raised, he concurred strenuously in the promotion of St. Pius V., though he was a creature of the



Carallas, and consequently esteemed no friend to his uncle and his family. The saint in his letter to Cardinal Henry of Portugal, giving an account of this election, says, that entering into this conclave, he had looked upon it as his principal duty and care to watch over himself with great circumspection, and examined narrowly his heart for fear of being seduced by any personal affection or interest which might have any secret influence and infect the purity of his views and intentions. St. Pius V., who was chosen on the 7th of January, in 1566, did all in his power to engage St. Charles to stay at Rome and accept of the same employment which he had enjoyed under his predecessor. But the holy Archbishop feared that even to resign his Church without having remedied the disorders which had taken root in it would have been to abandon it, and pressed his return to his people with such zeal that the Pope, after having taken his advice for several days, dismissed him with his blessing.

St. Charles arrived at Milan in April, 1566, and went vigorously to work for the reformation of his diocese. He began by the regulation of his own family, considering that the task would be easier when all he could prescribe to others was already practised at home. He laboured, in the first place, for the most perfect sanctification of his own soul, the episcopal character being a state of the greatest perfection and sanctity, and was most severe towards himself. The austerities which he practised amidst the incredible fatigues of his apostolic life seem almost excessive. His fasts were at first moderate, that he might inure his body by degrees to greater severities ; but for a long time he continued every week to increase them, out of an earnest desire of practising every means of advancing in the path of Christian perfection. Yet his austerities were discreet, and even at the end of his life his strength seemed never to fail him for his functions ; it seemed to redouble through his zeal when extraordinary fatigues presented themselves, so that he never sunk under any burden. To exclude the imperfection of secretly seeking his own will in his austerities (which he said was to corrupt our penance), he treated his body with an entire indifference, and ate either wheat or black bread, or chestnuts ; and drank either clear, dirty, or snow water, such as he met with where he came. For several years before his death he fasted every day on bread and water, Sundays and holidays only excepted, on which he took with his bread some pulse, herbs, or apples ; but never touched any flesh, fish, eggs, or wine : nor would he allow the water he drank to have been warmed. In Lent he abstained even from bread, and lived on dried figs and boiled beans ; in Holy Week his food was only a small bitter sort of peas which he ate

raw. The whole year he never ate oftener than once a day. From a violent cold and long sickness which he had contracted whilst he was a student at Pavia in the twentieth year of his age, he was for many years troubled with phlegm, which caused frequent disorders in his health ; and which no remedies could cure, till, by this excessive abstemiousness, it was perfectly removed. Whence it became a proverb to call a long and rigorous abstinence "the remedy of Cardinal Borromeo." The Archbishop of Valentia, in Spain, and F. Lewis of Granada, for whom the saint had the highest esteem, both wrote to him in the strongest manner, insisting that such excessive rigours were incompatible with the labours of the episcopal charge. St. Charles answered the former, that he found the contrary by experience ; and that, as to the fatigues of the ministry, a bishop must look upon it as the greatest happiness that could befall him if he lost his life in serving his Church, for which Christ died ; therefore he ought not too nicely to spare himself in the discharge of his functions. To F. Granada the saint answered, that the Chrysostoms, the Spiridions, the Basils, and many other bishops of very extensive sees, lived in the practice of perpetual watchfulness and fasts, yet many of them arrived at a very advanced age. Pope Gregory XIII. commanded him by a brief to moderate his austerities. The saint received this order after he had passed the Lent to the last week without any other food than dried figs ; and in compliance, mitigated some little of his intended rigours in Holy Week. He wrote to His Holiness, declaring his readiness to obey, but assuring him that he found by experience that a spare diet was conducive to his health. Whereupon the Pope left him to his discretion ; and the same rigid life he continued to his death. St. Charles constantly wore a rough hair shirt, took very little rest, and before great festivals passed the whole night in watching. When others advised him to allow more to the necessity of nature, he used to say, his uncle, John James of Medicis, a famous captain, and many other generals, only slept a short time in a chair in the night ; and "ought not a bishop who is engaged in a warfare against hell," said he, "to do as much?" The saint only slept sitting in a chair, or lying down upon a rough bed in his clothes, till, at the earnest request of the bishops of his province, he consented to alter this custom. From which time he lay on a bed of straw, having for his pillow a sack filled with straw, without any other covering than a poor counterpane stuffed with straw, and two coarse sheets laid on a straw bed.

His patience in bearing cold and all other hardships he carried to a like excess. When one would have had a bed aired for him, he said with a smile : "The best way not to

find a bed cold is to go colder to bed than the bed is." The Bishop of Asti, in his funeral oration, said of him: "Out of his revenues he expended nothing for his own use except what was necessary for buying a little bread and water for his diet, and straw for his bed. When I attended him in making a visitation in the valley Mesolcina, a very cold country, I found him studying in the night in a single black tattered old gown. I entreated him, if he would not perish with cold, to put on some better garment. He answered me smiling: 'What will you say if I have no other? The robes which I am obliged to wear in the day belong to the dignity of cardinal; but this garment is my own, and I will have no other either for winter or summer.'" Out of the most scrupulous love of purity, he would never suffer any servant to see his arm, or foot, or any other part of his body that was usually covered, bare; neither would he speak to any woman, not even to his pious aunt, or sisters, or any nun, but in sight at least of two persons, and in as few words as possible. Seeing one of his chaplains drink once out of meals, he severely chid him, saying: "It is better to suffer thirst than to gratify sensuality." His austerities are not mentioned as imitable; yet ought to excite all to the constant practice of some mortification, in order to keep the senses in due subjection, and to make our lives a constant martyrdom of penance. But the essential mortification is that of the will and the passions, to which this exterior is a great help. How eminently St. Charles excelled herein appears by his humility, meekness, and entire disengagement from all earthly things. So deeply was he grounded in the knowledge and contempt of himself, that the highest honours which he enjoyed under his uncle made no impression upon his mind; he regarded them as burdens, and declined all except those which he was obliged to accept for the good of the Church and the salvation of souls. In his undertakings he never suffered anything to be abscribed to himself but faults. At Milan he removed out of his palace the fine sculptures, paintings, and hangings, and especially the arms of his family, which some had put up before his arrival; nor would he suffer his name, or the arms of his family, but only those of his bishopric, to be set upon any edifices which he raised. Under his robes he wore a very poor garment, which he called his own, and which was so mean, and usually so old and ragged, that once a beggar refused to accept of it. His servants he chiefly employed in other affairs, but did everything for himself that he could; and it was his delight even to serve others, though he did this in such a manner as never to do anything unbecoming his dignity, being sensible what he owed to his rank. The least shadow of praise

or flattery was most hateful to him. All supernatural favours and interior graces and consolations which he received in prayer, he was most careful to conceal ; and he had a little cell in the garrets of his palace at a distance from the chambers of others, to which he often retired. He never spoke of his own actions, unless to ask advice or to condemn himself. It was an extreme pleasure to him to converse with, and to catechise the poor, which he did among the poor inhabitants of the wildest mountains. The Bishop of Ferrara coming to meet him when he was occupied in the visitation of a poor valley, found him sick of an ague, lying on a coarse bed in a very poor cottage. At the sight he was so struck as to be scarce able to speak. St. Charles, perceiving his confusion, told him he was treated very well, and much better than he deserved. The accent with which he spoke this astonished the Bishop much more than what he saw. If he was put in mind of any fault, he expressed the most sincere gratitude ; and he gave a commission to two prudent and pious priests of his household to put him in mind of everything they saw amiss in his actions, and he often begged that favour of strangers. The sweetness and gravity with which he reproved or exhorted others was the fruit of his sincere humility and charity. From his childhood mildness seemed to form his character, and even in his youth he seemed never to feel any emotion of anger against school-fellows or others. This virtue was daily more and more perfected in him as he advanced in the victory over himself. The most atrocious injuries, even accusations sent to the King of Spain against him, and the blackest actions of ingratitude never discomposed his mind ; and defamatory libels published against him he burnt without reading them or inquiring after the authors. A certain priest who took delight in finding fault with his actions he kept constantly in his family, treated him with the greatest regard, and in his will left him a pension for life upon his estate. The saint's tongue was always the interpreter of his heart : his candour and sincerity appeared in all his words and transactions, and his promises were inviolable. The confidence which every one on this account reposed in him showed the incomparable advantage which a character of strict sincerity and veracity gives over lying and hypocrisy, which the saint could never bear in anyone. He refused dispensations and grants which seemed unjust, with invincible firmness, but with so much sweetness as to make the parties themselves enter into his reasons. Thus when a lady of great quality desired leave to go into a monastery to see her daughter, who lay dying, the saint represented to her that such a visit would be a very short satisfaction, but that the edification of her example,

in preferring the rule of enclosure, would be of great advantage to the Church, in which the lady voluntarily acquiesced.

The management of his temporalities he left entirely to stewards of approved probity and experience, whose accounts he took once a year. To inspire his clergy with the love of holy poverty, he severely reprov'd even bishops who discovered a spirit of interestedness; and he used to repeat to them the prayer of St. Austin, who often begged of God that he would take from his heart the love of riches, which strangely withdraws a man from the love of God, and alienates his affections from spiritual exercises: certainly nothing can be baser in a minister of the altar, or more unworthy, and more contrary to his character than that foul passion. When others told him he ought to have a garden at Milan to take the air in, his answer was that the Holy Scriptures ought to be the garden of a bishop. If any spoke to him of fine palaces or gardens, he said, we ought to build and to think of eternal houses in heaven. When he came to reside at Milan, though his revenues when he left Rome amounted to above one hundred thousand crowns a year, including his legations or governments, he reduced them to twenty thousand crowns, for he reserved nothing besides the income of his archbishopric, the pension which the King of Spain had granted him, and a pension upon his own estate. His other benefices he resigned, or converted into colleges and seminaries for the education of youth. He made over the marquisate of Romagonora to Frederick Ferrier, his kinsman, and his other estates in the Milanese to his uncles the counts of Borromeo, those estates being feoffments or perpetual entails in the family, though for his life. The principality of Oria, in the kingdom of Naples, which yielded him ten thousand ducats a year for his life, he sold for forty thousand crowns, which sum was brought to his palace, according to the terms of the sale. But he could not bear the thought of a treasure lodged in a bishop's house, and ordered his almoner to distribute the whole without delay among the poor and the hospitals. When the list which the almoner showed him for the distribution amounted by mistake to forty-two thousand crowns, the saint said the mistake was too much to the advantage of the poor to be corrected; and the forty-two thousand crowns were accordingly distributed in one day. When the officers of King Philip II. seized the castle of Arona for the Crown, in which a garrison was always kept, and which was the most honourable title of the family of Borromeo, and of the whole country, the saint could not be prevailed upon to send any remonstrances to the court, or to make interest to recover it. Upon the death of his brother Frederic, he caused the rich furniture, jewels,

paintings, and other precious effects to be sold at Rome, Milan, and Venice, and the price, which amounted to thirty thousand crowns, he gave to the poor. When he came first to reside at Milan he sold plate and other effects to the value of thirty thousand crowns, and applied the whole sum for the relief of distressed families in that diocese. Count Frederic's widow, Virginia of Rouera, left him by will a legacy of twenty thousand crowns, which he made over to the poor without touching a farthing of it. His chief almoner, who was a pious priest named Julius Petrucci, was ordered to give among the poor of Milan, of whom he kept an exact list, two hundred crowns a month, besides whatever extraordinary sums he should call upon the stewards for, which were very frequent, and so great that they were obliged to contract considerable debts to satisfy them, of which they often complained to St. Charles, but could not prevail with him to moderate his alms. The saint would never suffer any beggar to be dismissed without some alms, wherever he was.

Hospitality the saint looked upon as a bishop's indispensable duty, and he was most obliging and liberal in entertaining princes, prelates, and strangers of all ranks, but often at the table at which his upper family ate all together, and without dainties or luxury ; and he endeavoured as much as possible to conceal his own abstemiousness, of which he would not suffer the least sign to be given or notice taken, everyone being free to eat as he pleased at his table. His liberality appears in many monuments which yet remain at Rome, Milan, and in many parts of that diocese. The church of St. Praxedes at Rome, which gave him the title of cardinal, was magnificently repaired and almost rebuilt by him. He adorned the church of St. Mary Major, of which he was arch-priest. At Bologna, whilst he was legate there, he built the public schools in a stately and finished manner, with a beautiful fountain in the middle of the city. At Milan he did many things to adorn the metropolitical church, and built houses for all the canons of an admirable architecture, with a subterraneous passage for them to go to the church without being seen by anyone ; also a dwelling-place for the rest of the clergy of that church ; and the archiepiscopal palace, chapel, prisons, and stables ; the great seminary at Milan, and two other seminaries there ; three more in other parts of the diocese, the convent of Capuchins (whom he established at Milan), with apartments for his clergy to make retreats there, near one of his seminaries. He settled at Milan the Theatins, also the Jesuits, whose college of Brera he founded at Milan, and to whom he made over, for the foundation of their novitiate, his abbey of St. Gratinian at Arona. It would be tedious to enumerate the pious

settlements he made for his Oblates, and the churches, hospitals, and other public buildings which he repaired or adorned. The revenues of his archbishopric he divided into three parts, one of which was appropriated to his household, another to the poor, and a third to the reparation of churches ; and the account of these revenues, to the last farthing, he laid before his provincial councils, saying he was no more than the administrator and steward. Though he tenderly loved his relations, he visited them only twice or thrice a year ; and if they sent him any recommendations, he was more scrupulous and severe in examining the affairs or parties than in others, fearing the danger of any bias upon his mind. He employed no clergyman of his kindred in the government of his diocese, and resigned none of the benefices which had been conferred on him in his youth to any of them. He indeed educated his cousin-german, Frederic Borromeo, in the college he had founded in Pavia, and he became one of the greatest ornaments of the Church.

The saint expressed always a particular joy when he found any opportunity of serving his enemies, or of returning good for evil. This watchfulness over his heart against all inordinate affections made him also watchful in his words, in which he was very sparing, and careful never to say anything superfluous. Fearing to misspend, or rob from the great obligations of his charge, one moment of his time, he laid it all out in serious employments : at table, or whilst his hair was cutting, he listened to some pious book that was read to him, or he dictated letters or instructions. When he fasted on bread and water, and dined in private, he ate and read at the same time, and on his knees when the book was the Holy Scripture ; and, at the same time, his cheeks were often watered abundantly with his tears. After dinner he gave audience to his country vicars and curates, instead of conversing. In his journeys he always either prayed or studied on the road, and in the regular distribution of his time allowed himself none for recreation, finding in the different employments of his charge both corporal exercise and relaxation of the mind sufficient for maintaining the vigour of the mind and health of body. He said, that "a bishop ought never to take a walk either alone or with others." Certain persons telling him, that a very experienced and pious director said, a person ought generally to allow himself seven hours for rest every night, he said bishops must be excepted from that rule. When some persons told him, he ought to read some newspapers in order to be acquainted with certain public transactions, for his own conduct on certain occasions, and might spare now and then three or four minutes for this, he made answer, that a bishop ought totally to

employ his mind and heart in meditating on the law of God, which he cannot do who fills his soul with the vain curiosities of the world; and he attends more easily to God who hears least of them. To make recreations an employ, or to give to them any considerable time, or to indulge an eagerness or passion after hearing news is a vicious and vain curiosity, sloth and dissipation of mind, most pernicious to the spirit of devotion, and particularly contrary to the gravity and sanctity of a clerical state. Motives of charity to ourselves or others may sanctify some small degree of such amusements or actions which St. Charles's great dignity and authority allowed him the *happy* liberty of *entirely* retrenching, and practising in the world a virtue no less severe than that of the most austere penitential religious order.

It was a rule, which he inviolably observed, to go every morning to confession, before he said Mass, and to make a spiritual retreat twice every year, in each of which he made a general confession for the time since his last spiritual exercises. After employing many hours on his knees in astonishing sentiments of compunction, he accused himself of the least failings and omissions with abundance of tears. His confessors at Milan were F. Francis Adorno, a very pious Jesuit, and an interior man whom he had invited from Genoa, under whose direction he most frequently made his retreats, but sometimes under F. Alexander Saulo, a Barnabite (afterwards Bishop of Pavia), of whose virtue and prudence he had from experience the highest opinion. The first retreat and general confession which he made with this holy director in 1568, the saint ever after called his conversion to God, so great was the spiritual profit which he reaped from it. But St. Charles's ordinary confessor was Mr. Gryffyth Roberts, a Welshman, a canon and theologal of the great church. A priest, from once hearing the saint's confession, might learn the most perfect lessons of his duties in all his actions, nor could those who had any acquaintance with his interior sufficiently admire the purity of his conscience, the wonderful light with which he discerned the least failings, or the fervour of his compunction, and the sincerity of his humility, by which he esteemed himself the last of creatures, and of all others the most unfaithful and ungrateful to God. It happened once that in giving the Holy Communion at Brescia, by the fault of him who served at Mass, he let the Host fall, for which, in the deepest compunction and humiliation, he fasted most rigorously eight days, and abstained four days from saying Mass. Except on this occasion he never omitted to say Mass every day, even in his journeys and greatest hurries of business, unless in extreme fits of illness, and then he at least received every day the



**Holy Communion.** Out of respect and devotion to the adorable Sacrifice, he always kept a rigorous silence (unless some important business intervened) from the evening prayer and meditation till the next day after Mass, and his long thanksgiving. He prepared himself to offer the Sacrifice by the sacrament of penance, and by many vocal and mental prayers ; and used to say that it was unbecoming a priest to apply his mind to any temporal business before that great duty.

He always recited the divine office on his knees with his head bare, and his soul seemed all the while absorbed in God. The better to fix his attention, he never said any part of it by heart, but read it all in the breviary, which practice he recommended to all his clergy. He never would be excused from any part of it in any sickness, how grievous soever, except the day before he died ; and on that would have his chaplain recite it by him upon his knees, and attended to it with great devotion. He always said each part as near as might be to the canonical hour to which it corresponded ; but on Sundays and holidays sung it all in choir in the great church, and passed there the greatest part of those days after the public office on his knees before a private altar. He had an extraordinary devotion to the Blessed Virgin, under whose patronage he put all his colleges ; he had a singular devotion to St. Ambrose and the other saints of his Church, and had a great veneration for holy relics. He carried always about him, among others in a gold cross, a particle of the true Cross of Christ, and a small image of St. Ambrose. He always kept with great respect a little picture of Bishop Fisher, who was put to death for his religion under Henry VIII. in England. The passion of Christ was a constant object of his devotions and meditations. At Rome he frequently spent five hours together on his knees in the chapel of the holy pillar, in the church of St. Praxedes, and so in other places of devotion, sometimes whole days or nights. Having once passed the night in the church of St. Sebastian at the Catacombs, he spent the day following in that of St. Agnes. But what was most astonishing and edifying was the extraordinary exterior and interior recollection with which he prayed. His extreme care that neither persons nor business (unless in some pressing necessity) should interrupt or disturb him at that time, and his strict watchfulness over his eyes and all his senses, made it easy for his soul to remain totally absorbed in the divine presence, and condemned those who, by neglecting these precautions and the due preparation of their souls, present themselves before God rather to mock Him than to pray. The foot of the altar was the centre of this saint's delights, as he sometimes called

it. When he was drawn away he left his heart there in desire to continue praying to God without interruption the homage of praise and love, and imploring His mercy. He never said any prayer or performed any religious ceremony with precipitation, whatever business of importance he had upon his hands, how much soever he was pressed for time, or how long soever his functions continued, which was sometimes from morning till late in the night. In giving audience, and in the greatest hurry of exterior affairs, his very countenance, all his words, and his modesty showed his mind to be perfectly recollected in God, the centre of his heart, his repose, strength, and comfort. From this spirit of prayer and the ardent love of God which burned in his breast, his words infused a certain spiritual joy into others, gained their hearts, and kindled in them a strong desire of persevering in virtue, and cheerfully suffering all things for its sake. One word spoke by him frequently so animated slothful or desponding priests that they counted labours their gain, and braved dangers without fear. St. Philip Neri testified that he once saw the saint's countenance shining with a heavenly brightness. The practice of always walking in the divine presence he strongly recommended as the principal means of attaining to Christian virtue. To a gentleman who begged he would prescribe him the rules of advancing in piety, he gave this answer: "He who desires to make any progress in the service of God must begin every day of his life with new ardour, must keep himself in the presence of God as much as possible, and must have no other view or end in all his actions but the divine honour."

The saint, who laboured so strenuously for the sanctification of his own soul, began the reformation of his diocese by the regulation of his own family; including the vicars and the officers of their courts, it consisted of about a hundred persons, the greatest part being clergymen whom he employed in his own affairs, and in those of his diocese. All the priests were obliged to go to confession once a week, the others at least once a month, and to communicate at the Archbishop's hands. The priests said Mass every day; all assisted every day at regular prayers at night and morning, meditations, and pious reading; abstained from flesh all Wednesdays and all Advent; fasted many vigils besides those of precept; and on fast-days had no regular collation; but those that called for it were allowed to take an ounce and a half of bread. No person in his family was ever to expect any benefice from him, so much did he dread the danger of simony stealing into anyone's intention in serving him. When one of them had obtained a small benefice from his grand vicar, St. Charles discharged him, though he had a

good opinion of his learning and virtue, and afterward recommended him to another bishop. All were allowed handsome salaries, and were strictly forbid to receive presents from anyone. Idleness was banished his house, and those who at any time were not employed were obliged to read the lives of saints or other pious books. St. Charles had about him persons of the greatest learning and piety, whose advice he took in all matters of moment, and he took no resolution of importance without having earnestly implored the light of heaven by his own and others' prayers, whence his resolutions were most prudent and happy. His household was a most regular community, and all dined together in a common refectory. Out of the clergy that composed his family, twelve became eminent bishops, and many were employed by popes in quality of nuncios, and in other great posts in the government of the Church. Ormanetto, his grand vicar (who was afterward Bishop of Padua), had two other assistants who were also grand vicars, for St. Charles established a vicariat, that things might be done with deliberation and counsel, which many other bishops imitated. He also appointed sixty foraneous or country vicars (whose authority and commission was limited by particular mandates); these were mostly the rural deans: they held frequent conferences, and inspected the behaviour of the curates under their jurisdiction, admonished them of their faults, and, if necessary, informed the archbishop or vicar general.

The diocese of Milan, when the saint arrived in it, with regard to ignorance and disorders, was in the most deplorable condition. The great truths of salvation were little known or understood, and religious practices were profaned by gross abuses, and disgraced by superstition. The sacraments were generally neglected, the priests scarce knew how to administer them, and were slothful, ignorant, and debauched; and the monasteries were full of disorder. St. Charles, by six provisional councils, and eleven diocesan synods, also by many pastoral instructions and mandates, made excellent regulations for the reformation of the manners both of the clergy and people, which all zealous pastors have since regarded as a finished model, and have studied to square their conduct by them. The first part of these, St. Charles collected into one volume in folio, which work, that his name might not be mentioned in it, he, out of humility, entitled, "The Acts of the Church of Milan." The rest were gathered into a second volume after his death. Partly by the most tender and zealous entreaties and remonstrances, and partly by an inflexible firmness in the most rigorous execution of these most wholesome decrees, without favour, distinction of persons, or regard to rank or pretended

privileges, the saint overcame the most obstinate, and broke through difficulties which would have daunted the most courageous. Preaching being the means established by God for the conversion of souls, and the principal obligation of a pastor, St. Charles applied himself to it with an unwearied zeal, though everything in this function cost him much time and pains. A natural impediment in his speech seemed to disqualify him for it, yet this he overcame by much labour and attention. By his disputations and harangues in the Vatican palace, he perfectly overcame a natural bashfulness and timidity, which at first gave him great difficulty. It was a more painful task still to break a custom of speaking his discourses too fast, and of conquering a thickness of speech, and other impediments. But his pains were at length crowned with incredible success. The composition also cost him a great deal of study, though an excellent judgment compensated this difficulty. That liveliness of genius, those sprightly thoughts, witty turns, and beautiful flowers, which we admire in the Basils and Chrysostoms, seemed not to be his talent. But zeal, sincere piety, and a thorough acquaintance with the lessons and motives of Christian virtue, could not fail to qualify him for this function. His sermons were solid and pathetic, and he spoke with a vehemence which strongly affects a soul, and with an unction which always penetrates the heart. Whilst those preachers who tickle the ears with the harmonious turn of their periods were dry and barren, the saint's sermons produced, wherever he came, infinite fruits among all ranks of people. He preached every Sunday and holyday, and often in his visitations two or three times a day. F. Charles Bascapè assures us, that hearing him preach, he was so strongly affected with the excellent things he said, and the holy energy with which he spoke them, that though he desired to take notice of the preacher and his manner of delivery, it was not in his power to do it; but, in spite of his endeavours, he forgot the sacred orator, being wholly transported and possessed with the great truths he preached; thought his longest sermons short, and was very sorry when he concluded his discourse that it was over. Possevinus and others assure us of the same. The saint's zeal in procuring that all children and others throughout his diocese should be perfectly instructed in the Catechism or Christian doctrine was fruitful in expedients to promote and perpetuate this most important duty of religion. Not content with strictly enjoining all parish priests to give public catechism every Sunday and holyday, he established everywhere, under admirable regulations, schools of the Christian doctrine, which amounted to the number of seven hundred and forty, in which were three thousand and forty

catechists, and forty thousand and ninety-eight scholars, as Giussano testifies.

The congregation of regular clerks called Barnabites, in Milan, abounding at that time with spiritual and interior men, the saint conceived a particular esteem and affection for this order, and employed very much these good religious men in the most important spiritual functions. To supply his diocese with good pastors he founded many colleges and seminaries, and with the same view instituted, in 1578, the congregation of secular priests, called Oblates of St. Ambrose, because they voluntarily offer themselves to the bishop, making a simple vow of obedience to him, and being ready at his discretion to be employed in any manner whatever in labouring for the salvation of souls. St. Charles made excellent regulations for their frequent conferences in all parts of the diocese under proper superiors, who assembled them together ; also for their exercises, private conduct, and government. For their chief house he gave them the church of the Holy Sepulchre, with a convenient contiguous building, where a certain number always reside to be ready for any commission or emergency. Out of these Oblates he chose his ablest curates and vicars, and employed others in particular missions and other important services. His great seminary, which he had first committed to the care of the Jesuits, he took from them with their free consent, and put it in the hands of the Oblates. He associated several pious ladies of Milan in regular exercises of devotion and Christian perfection, by whose example others were engaged to spend much time devoutly in churches, to assist at all the sermons they could, and to be always taken up with serious employments, and withdrawn from that fatal sloth and round of dangerous amusements which many seem to look upon as the privilege of their rank, as if this could make void the maxims of the Gospel, or exempt any Christian from the obligation of his baptismal engagements. These sacred vows, made by everyone at the font, St. Charles often inculcated, and induced persons to renew them frequently in a solemn manner with incredible fruit.

Immediately after his first provincial council he began the visitation of his diocese with the churches of Milan. Several monasteries, especially of nuns, that were subject to the superiors of their own order, refused to give him admission, and opposed the rules of reformation which he prescribed them. It cost him infinite trouble to effect his good designs amongst them ; but no entreaties or interest could soften him, nor were dangers and difficulties, which would have discouraged any other person, able to slacken his vigorous endeavours, which were at length crowned

everywhere with success. Some nunneries, which before were under the obedience of their order only, by special bulls which he procured, he subjected to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Every one of these undertakings was a work of time and much labour, and cost the holy prelate many prayers and tears. The reformation of his chapter was his first essay, and he established the divine service in the metropolitical church with the most edifying devotion, and in the utmost splendour, and obliged the canons to give constant attendance in the choir. The saint founded in it three new prebends, each of which proved singularly useful: the first was given to a theologian, who was to preach every Sunday, and to read lectures in divinity twice a week; the second to a penitentiary, whose business it was to absolve penitents from reserved cases, to be assiduous in hearing confessions, and to hold every week a meeting with four sub-penitentiaries that were under him, and with certain other able divines and canonists, in order to decide difficult cases, upon which curates or others from all parts of the diocese should consult them. The third prebend, called the doctoral, was bestowed on a doctor in laws, whose duty it was to instruct young clergymen in the canon law. St. Charles repaired the choir of the great church with great magnificence and decency, forbade any layman, of whatever rank, to come within the chancel during the divine office, removed the escutcheons of noble families and whatever was profane, and took care that all persons were hindered from making the churches a passage in going from one place to another.

In 1567 the saint had a contest with the officers of justice. Certain lay-persons who lived in public adultery, or kept concubines, and could not be reclaimed by remonstrances, were imprisoned by his order. The senate threatened the sergeants of the archiepiscopal court for this action; and one of the King's judges caused their barigel or provost to be apprehended, and punished in a public square with three strappados. The Archbishop treated with the magistrates with great calmness and meekness; but, after much deliberation, declared the judge, the King's fiscal, the notary, and jailer excommunicated, for having seized and punished an officer of the ecclesiastical court. Philip II., to whom both parties made their complaint, ordered the affair to be left to the Pope's decision, to whom a senator was sent as deputy to plead the cause, and the Duke of Albuquerque, governor of Milan, expressed an extreme displeasure at the treatment of the Archbishop's officer. In the meantime, St. Charles set out in October to perform the visitation of the three valleys of Levantine, Bregno, and Riparie, subject to the three Swiss cantons of Uri,

Switz, and Underwald ; for the see of Milan is extended in the Alps as far as Mount St. Gothard. Not to give umbrage to the temporal sovereignties, he entreated each to send a deputy to accompany him through their territories, which they did in a very obliging manner. These valleys had been, as it were, abandoned by former archbishops, were full of disorders, and the priests there were more corrupt than the laity. The saint travelled through snows and torrents, and over rocks which were almost inaccessible, having iron spikes on his shoes to climb them, and suffering with joy, cold, hunger, thirst, and continual weariness. He preached and catechised everywhere, displaced the ignorant and scandalous priests, and put in their room others endowed with learning, zeal, and piety, who were capable of restoring the faith and morals of the people to their original purity. In some corners of his diocese the Zuinglian heresy had got footing ; to them he made his way through incredible difficulties, reconciled many to the Church, and settled all this northern part of his diocese in very good order. His method of making his visitation was as follows : He always travelled on horseback or on foot ; had never more than six horses with him, and everyone carried his own little necessities on his own horse before him. He had no mules, but was followed by a horse loaded with a sack full of books. He called at no houses of noblemen or gentlemen, and lodged in those of the curates, how mean soever they were, often lying himself on some table, and yielding the beds to those that attended him. At dinner he would only allow a pottage, some fruit, and one dish of meat to be served up, though he never touched the meat himself, and in the last years of his life subsisted only on bread and water, which he took privately in his chamber, and did not make his appearance at table. Certain priests went before him to prepare the people to receive the Holy Communion, which he gave to all himself ; he allowed himself no interval of repose from his functions except a short time in the night ; and he inquired into the necessities, both corporal and spiritual, even of particular persons in every parish, took down some account of them, and afterward would be informed how the evils he had observed had been remedied.

In 1568 he took in hand the reformation of the Humiliati, a religious order of which he was the protector. Their institute was founded by certain gentlemen of Milan in 1134, who, with the consent of their wives, made religious vows. They adopted the rule of St. Bennet, with certain particular constitutions, and their order was approved by Innocent III. in 1200. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they fell into such relaxations that in ninety monasteries they had only one hundred and seventy monks;

the superiors, who were called provosts, spending the revenues, and living at discretion. St. Charles procured two briefs from the Pope, by which he was empowered to ordain and execute what he thought necessary for their reformation, and he published regulations for that purpose in a general chapter of the order which he assembled at Cremona. The monks received them willingly ; but the provosts and lay-brothers obstinately refused to submit to them. Our saint also assembled the Franciscans called Conventuals, in their convent at Milan, and published decrees for the reformation of certain abuses among them, for which he was authorized by Pope Pius V. Upon hearing his new regulations, some of the friars got up, and by their outrageous clamours and running to the bells, raised a furious uproar, threatening the Cardinal himself if he proceeded. He therefore calmly withdrew for the present, but afterwards carried every point into execution, and united their several branches into one body. In many particular commissions of popes to reform abuses in distant cities or in religious bodies, he showed such prudence and disinterested piety and zeal as to seem rather an angel than a man. In 1568 he held a diocesan synod. His method was first to inform himself of the necessities of every part of his diocese by previous assemblies of sixty country vicars. The synod continued three days, in which he published several regulations, and preached to the curates twice every day, whom he always wonderfully inflamed with sincere piety, disinterested zeal, and ardent charity. In 1569 he assembled his second provincial council, and obliged a bishop of his province, who was a cardinal, and excused himself upon various pretences, to assist at it. On another occasion he obliged a bishop to come from an embassy, in which he was employed by his prince, to the council, and even to quit his secular embassy and reside in his diocese. Hearing that one of his suffragans had said in company that he had nothing to do, the saint sent to him a prefect of his household to represent to him the necessities of his flock and the obligations of his charge. The bishop answered him, coldly, that Cardinal Borromeo required too much. The saint was extremely grieved at his insensibility and neglect, and wrote him a letter of several leaves, in which he summed up various obligations of the episcopal charge, repeating almost after each of them, "Shall a bishop ever say that he has nothing to do?" Hearing a cardinal, who was bishop of a small diocese, say it was too little to require constant residence, he found himself pierced to the quick, and strongly represented to his colleague that such is the price of one soul, as to deserve the residence and whole time of the greatest man in the world.



The tranquillity which St. Charles had for some time enjoyed stirred up the malice of the enemy of souls, and the storms which were formerly raised against the saint were renewed with greater fury than ever upon the following occasion. The collegiate church of St. Mary de la Scala, so called from the foundress, Beatrice de la Scala, wife of Barnaby Visconti, lord of Milan, enjoyed great privileges and exemptions, which had been obtained from the apostolic see by Francis Sforza II., Duke of Milan, a munificent benefactor. The conduct of some of these canons not being conformable to their state, St. Charles consulted able canonists at Milan, and the Pope himself, who all answered him that he had a right, in quality of archbishop, to make the visitation of this church, and, in case of misdemeanours, to proceed against any of the clergy belonging to it. The Archbishop therefore went to the church in solemnity to make a canonical visitation ; but was thrust from the door by the canons, and the cross which was carried before him, and which, in the tumult, he had taken into his own hands, was shot at. One of their party caused a bell to be rung ; then declared that the Archbishop had incurred suspension and other censures for having violated the privileges of their church. The grand vicar upon the spot pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the authors of this insult, which the Archbishop confirmed the next day in the great church, after having spent a long time in prayer at the foot of the altar. Most of the King's judges and the senate warmly espoused the cause of these canons, and sent the most virulent invectives against the Archbishop to the King of Spain, accusing him of ambition and high treason in invading the King's rights, this church being under the royal patronage. The governor of Milan wrote to Pope Pius V. in the strongest terms, threatening to banish the Cardinal as a traitor. The Pope answered him, that nothing could be more glorious to the Cardinal than to suffer banishment and death in the faithful discharge of his duty, and in labouring to exterminate vice and abuses from the sanctuary, and that the devil had stirred up this persecution to hinder the good effect of the Archbishop's zealous endeavours and upright intentions. Nevertheless, His Holiness was very reserved in declaring in favour of the Cardinal, and it is incredible how virulent and outrageous his enemies were at Milan in their invectives. The saint never spoke of any of them but with regard and tenderness ; and in justifying his conduct to the Pope and King of Spain, discovered his charity towards his persecutors. All this time he ceased not to pray and weep for them, and to beg of God that no resentment might find place in his heart. At length the King wrote to the governor,

ordering him to repeal an edict which he had published injurious to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to support the Archbishop ; saying he was much obliged to him for the trouble he took in the reformation of the canons of Scala, which undertaking he begged he would accomplish. Hereupon the governor was reconciled to the saint ; and the provost of the canons, who had been the least guilty, begged and received absolution from his censures. The canons persisted some time obstinate ; but at length submitted, and were absolved by the saint. The Pope insisted that the most guilty persons who had shot at the cross should be punished in an exemplary manner ; but by many earnest solicitations the saint at length obtained their pardon.

Before this affair was concluded by the King's letter to the governor, an attempt was made upon the life of the saint, whose preservation was owing to a visible miracle. The Humiliati, amongst whom St. Charles had established a reform, employed the interest of princes and every other means to prevail upon the Pope to annul the regulations which our saint had made for their order, but in vain. In the rage of their despair, three provosts of that order entered into a diabolical conspiracy to murder the Archbishop, and drew some others into the plot, to such excess of frenzy and malice do passions which are not restrained lead men. A priest of the same order, named La Farina, engaged for a sum of money to execute this horrid design, imagining that the suspicion would rather fall upon some of the King's officers who were then at variance with the prelate. On the 26th of November, 1569, the villain found means to post himself at the door of the chapel in the Archbishop's palace, whilst the prelate with his family was at his devotions, which lasted an hour every evening, from six to seven o'clock. An anthem was then singing at these words, *Non turbetur cor meum, neque formidet*, and the prelate was upon his knees before the altar, when the assassin, who was not above five or six paces from him, discharged at him a blunderbuss with a large bullet. At the report the music ceased, and everyone got up in the utmost consternation ; but the saint, without stirring from his place, made them a sign to kneel down again, and finished his prayer with the same sweetness and tranquillity in his countenance as if nothing had happened. This gave the murderer an opportunity of escaping. St. Charles, imagining himself mortally wounded, lifting up his hands and eyes to God, offered his life to Him. But after the prayer was finished, rising up he found that the ball had only struck upon his rochet, near the middle vertebrae of the back, and leaving a mark upon the rochet, had fallen down at his feet. Some small shot had pierced his clothes, but stopped

at his skin ; and his cassock was pierced with small shot in several places. When he was retired to his chamber, and the part that was struck examined, a light bruise was discovered with a small swelling on the skin, which mark continued even after his death. At the same time that he was wounded, some small shot penetrated a table of hard wood as thick as a finger that was close by him, and struck the wall with great force and noise. The Duke of Albuquerque, governor of Milan, came immediately to see the saint, and earnestly begged that he might be allowed to make a search in his family, and examine his servants in order to discover the author of so black an attempt ; but to this St. Charles would never consent. After a solemn thanksgiving to God and a procession, he shut himself up for some days in the chartreuse of Carignan, to consecrate his life anew to God. The world knew not which to call the greater miracle, his serenity of mind under such an accident or his wonderful preservation, by which all pastors were taught not to fear the world in the discharge of their pastoral duties. St. Charles's rochet became a proverb in Italy for a thing impenetrable. It is preserved at the chartreuse at Bordeaux, and the ball in the church of the Oblates at Milan. Some of the Humiliati discovered enough to St. Charles for him to trace the crime to its authors ; but he never disclosed it ; and always answered with simplicity that so many had taken offence at his regulations, that it was not possible to know who had carried their resentment so far. Certain words which some persons of that order let fall gave suspicions to the public, so that they were examined, and the four authors convicted. They all confessed the crime with marks of sincere repentance ; two provosts who were of noble families were beheaded ; the third provost and the assassin were hanged, though St. Charles did everything in his power that their lives might be spared, and took care of their relations. The punishment of a fifth, who was only condemned to the galleys, was mitigated, to content the saint in some measure, and he was confined for some time in a monastery, and afterward set at liberty. In execration of this crime, Pope Pius V. abolished the order of the Humiliati, applying their revenues to other pious uses, notwithstanding the intercession which St. Charles made in their favour. It never appeared more clearly than under these dangers and persecutions how much this great saint was beloved by his people, and revered by princes and the whole Church. Nor did it seem possible that an Ignatius or a Chrysostom could love their flocks with a more tender and ardent affection than St. Charles did the people of his diocese, for whose sake all labours and dangers were sweet ; and he looked upon it as nothing to lay

down his life to procure them the least spiritual advantage, as the whole tenor of his conduct showed.

Before the execution of the assassins he returned to three valleys of his diocese situated in the Alps, and took that opportunity of paying a visit to the states of each of the Catholic cantons, whose breasts he by his exhortations warmed with an ardent love of virtue and zeal against all disorders which are a scandal to religion. The harvest having failed in 1569, the country was afflicted the following year with great scarcity, under which calamity St. Charles, by his care and immense charities, procured abundant supplies for the relief of the poor throughout his whole diocese. That year he assisted the Duke of Albuquerque at his death; and at length succeeded in almost abolishing the disorders of the Carnival or Shrovetide, and turning the attention of the people to religious processions, prayer, and compunction at that season. To extirpate the custom of profaning the holy Name of God, or sentences of the Holy Scripture, the saint armed himself with all his zeal, and had recourse to various pious institutions. Upon the death of St. Pius V. in 1572, St. Charles concurred strenuously to the election of Cardinal Buoncampagno, who took the name of Gregory XIII., is famous for the institution of many colleges for the propagation of the faith, and surpassed, if possible, his two predecessors in his esteem for our saint, whom he detained some time at Rome to take his advice; and he appointed him apostolic visitor of the dioceses of all his suffragans. In 1575, St. Charles went to Rome with the most edifying devotion to gain the jubilee, and, in the following year, opened it at Milan. With all his zeal, he was not able to hinder the exhibition of profane diversions of tilts and tournaments that very year. Whilst the people were taken up in them, he clearly foretold the plague which broke out before they were over. The news of this calamity reached the saint at Lodi, whither he was gone to assist the bishop of that see at his death, as it was his custom to do toward all his suffragans. The governor fled to Vigevano, and all the rest of the nobility left the town. St. Charles made haste thither, visited the pesthouse whither the infected were sent by the magistrates, and provided both the sick and the poor with every succour spiritual and corporal. According to his custom in all difficulties, he consulted his vicars and canonists whether he was obliged to remain with the infected, or to withdraw to some other part of his diocese. They answered him with warm solicitations in the negative, entreating him not to expose his life, which was at that time of infinite importance, both to the sick and to those parts of his diocese which were not

visited with that calamity. But St. Charles proved to them that a pastor, who is obliged to lay down his life for his flock, must not abandon them in the time of danger. All granted this was the more perfect. "And is not a bishop," said the saint, "obliged to choose what is most perfect?" Sin being the cause of scourges, he strongly exhorted the people to have recourse to the divine mercy by humble penance, and he redoubled his prayers and austerities. In three general processions he walked barefoot, having on a purple cope, as in time of penance, with a halter about his neck, and a crucifix in his hands, from which he seemed never to turn his eyes, which were drowned in tears. Thus he offered himself a victim for the sins of the people. He preached almost every day, and never ceased admonishing his fellow-labourers to condemn life in such a cause, himself exhorting the sick and administering the sacraments. For the relief of those that were destitute he melted down all his plate, and gave all his furniture, even the straw bed on which he lay, taking his rest on the boards. The number of priests, chiefly of his own clergy, whom he at first appointed to attend the sick, not being sufficient, he assembled the superiors of the religious communities, and begging their concurrence, made them a most pathetic discourse, in which he shows how great a happiness it was for any to lose their lives (which are always uncertain and short) in such a cause of the most noble charity, though the danger was not so great as was commonly imagined, and they were under the divine protection. Such was the effect of this zealous discourse, that about twenty-eight priests immediately presented themselves out of that body, and the saint allotted them their diet and lodgings in his own palace. The magistrates found fault with his numerous processions and assemblies of devotion, for fear of spreading the contagion. The saint justified his conduct by the example of St. Gregory, St. Mammertus, and other great prelates, alleged, that all human remedies failing, it was more necessary to have recourse to those which are divine, and assured them that those devotions, far from increasing, would remove the calamity, which seemed a prophecy, for though fourscore died in the procession which St. Gregory made, no one caught the infection in those of St. Charles, nor any one of those that attended him in his visits of the sick: only two of his family died, who never went to the infected houses. So abandoned to iniquity were some persons, that the scourge itself was not able to reclaim them. Persuading themselves that mirth, jollity, pleasure, and high living, were the best means to preserve them from the contagion, they lived together in a pleasant row of houses near the town in debauchery and intemperance, and despised the serious admoni-

tions of their holy pastor; but they were more severely visited with the pestilence than any other part, so that not one of their houses escaped it. This dreadful distemper, after raging four months, began to abate in November, and quite ceased about the beginning of the ensuing year. The saint appointed a public solemn thanksgiving, and three days' prayer for such as had died during the pestilence. The two governors who had succeeded Albuquerque gave the saint much to suffer, chiefly on account of his abolishing the extravagancies of Shrovetide, and of the first Sunday in Lent; and on account of the processions he had made during the pestilence; to which they were stirred up by incorrigible sinners, and persons who were enemies to all reformation of manners, as Giussano shows at large. After the death of the latter of these governors in 1580, the King of Spain did the saint justice, and Pope Gregory XIII. full of admiration at the wisdom and apostolic spirit which appeared in his whole conduct, approved of all his regulations, and commended his zeal; also the Duke of Terra Nuova, the fourth governor of Milan from the time of our saint's promotion, lived constantly in good intelligence with the saint, and often assisted at his sermons.

St. Charles made twice the visitation of his whole diocese, and once of his province; he took a journey into the Valteline, and into the country of the Grisons, where he animated the Catholics to the practice of piety, and converted many Zuinglianists. The diocese of Milan is filled with monuments of his charity and zeal, and in that city itself he founded a convent of Capuchinesses (in which a daughter of his uncle, John Baptist Borromeo, embraced that austere order, and died in the odour of sanctity); one of Ursulines, for the instruction of poor girls, who were educated there gratis; an hospital for beggars, into which all the poor were received; another of convalescents who were dismissed out of the great hospital, etc. After he had established the college of the Jesuits at Milan, in which grammar, philosophy, and theology are taught, he committed a college which he founded for the Switzers, his six seminaries (three in the city and three in other parts of his diocese), and all the other houses which he instituted, to the care of his Oblates, except a house at Pavia, which he gave to the regular clerks of Somascha, so called from a place of that name between Bergamo and Milan, where their founder, St. Jerom Æmiliani, a nobleman of Venice, established their chief seminary. Though the saint preferred public and general duties, as preaching, to those which regarded only private persons, yet he spent much time in the direction of particulars, in which his prudence was most remarkable. He was very severe in examining, and much

upon his guard in believing visions and ecstasies, especially in women, whose imagination is easily susceptible of impressions ; on such occasions he recommended the practice of humility and solid virtues. When a young woman in Milan, who was one of those who, making a vow of chastity, are called Devotes (in Italy, *Beates*), was much spoke of on account of extraordinary favours which it was pretended she had received from God ; though F. Adorno, who examined her, judged them real, the saint would not be prevailed upon by any entreaties so much as to go to see her, but ordered her to be shut up in a nunnery, sufficiently testifying that he looked upon the whole as an illusion, as was made manifest some time after the saint's death. He was no less strict in the scrutiny of miracles and relics, and exploded all those that were not authentic ; but visited other holy relics with singular devotion, and translated and adorned the shrines of many saints. It was to him, as he often expressed, a singular pleasure to assist dying persons. In 1583, hearing the Duke of Savoy was fallen sick at Vercelli, and given over by his physicians, he posted thither, and found him, as it was thought, at the last gasp. The Duke, seeing him come into his chamber, cried out, "I am cured." The saint gave him the Holy Communion the next day, and ordered the forty hours' prayer for his recovery. The Duke was restored to his health, as he was persuaded, by the prayers of St. Charles, and after the saint's death, sent a silver lamp to be hung up at his tomb, in memory of this benefit.

For closer solitude St. Charles sometimes used to make his retreats at Camaldoli and other places, but none seemed so agreeable to his devotion as Mount Varalli, situate in the diocese of Novara, upon the borders of Switzerland, a famous place of devotion to the sufferings of Christ, the mysteries of which are curiously carved in thirty-eight chapels of good architecture, besides the great church, which is served by Franciscans. Thither St. Charles went in 1584, to make his annual retreat and confession, having with him F. Adorno, who proposed to him the points of his meditations. He had before clearly foretold to several persons that he should not remain long with them ; and in this retreat redoubled his fervour in his austerities and devotions, and seemed more than ordinarily absorbed in God, and disengaged from his body and all earthly ties. The abundance of his tears obliged him often to stop in saying Mass ; and a bishop deposed that he saw his countenance one day at the altar darting a ray of bright light, which seemed to proceed from that interior light which filled his soul, and to be a presage of that glory with which he was going to be crowned. He spent most time in the chapel called,

Of the Prayer in the Garden, and in that, Of our Redeemer in the Sepulchre; endeavouring to put himself in a state of death with Him, by a perfect renunciation of all sentiments and thoughts of self-love; and praying that whatever remained in him of the life of Adam might be entirely destroyed by the death of the Son of God. On the 24th of October he was taken ill of a tertian ague, but concealed it; on the 26th he had a second fit, and by the order of F. Adorno, abridged the hours of his prayers, had a little straw laid on the boards on which he lay, and took a panado, suffering the bread to be toasted, which he ate with water, but would not use any salt or butter. On the fifth day of his retreat he spent eight hours on his knees with such fervour and compunction that he could not be persuaded he had been near so long; after this he made his annual confession, and the next day, it being the 29th of October, he went to Arona, and there alighted at the curate's according to his custom, not at the palace, which had been seized by the governors, but was afterward restored to him without his solicitations. Having taken a mess of panado, he went, though it was night, across the lake to Ascona, to finish the foundation of a college there, though the plague was then in that town. He took a little rest in the boat, and despatched his business the next morning; he returned by water to Conobbio, though in a fit of the ague. The next day he went to Arona; but it being the eve of All Saints, fasted as usual, except that he took the drugs prescribed him by his physician. His cousin, Renatus Borromeo, could not induce him to lodge at the castle, but he lay at the Jesuits', and rested well that night, and rose to his prayers at two in the morning. After his confession, he said Mass at seven; his physicians persuaded him not to set out, that being the day of the return of his ague, and they ordered him to drink a great quantity of ptisan. He obeyed them; but the ptisan had a contrary effect to what they expected it, being too strong for a constitution accustomed to no other fare than bread and water, or pulse. His ptisans and drugs were to him cordials, instead of coolers, and his fever was much increased by them, so that it became from that time continued, and never after left him.

On All Souls' Day he arrived at Milan in a litter, called in the ablest physicians, and gave himself up to their direction, which he scrupulously followed in every point. They declared his distemper very dangerous; but the next day, finding his fever much abated, had great hopes of his recovery. The saint gave no signs of joy at this news, and continued his pious exercises, chiefly on the passion of Christ, sometimes by himself, sometimes with F. Adorno, F. Charles Bascapè, and other devout persons. In the next



paroxysm of his fever, the physicians found the state of his health desperate ; he received the news with a surprising serenity, received the viaticum and extreme unction with great devotion, and with these words, "*Ecce venio*, Behold, I come," expired in the first part of the night between the 3rd and 4th of November. He left by his will his plate to his cathedral, his library to his canons, and his manuscripts to the Bishop of Vercelli, and declared the general hospital his heir. His funeral he ordered to be made as privately as might be, and chose for his burial-place a vault near the choir, with this inscription, which remains there to this day, in a small marble stone: "Charles, cardinal of the title of St. Praxedes, Archbishop of Milan, desiring to be recommended to the frequent prayers of the clergy, people, and the devout sex, living, chose for himself this monument." There follows this addition: "He lived forty-six years one month and one day, governed this church twenty-four years eight months twenty-four days, and died November the 4th in 1584." F. Adorno, soon after his departure, in a slumber, saw him in great light and glory, and the saint said to him: "I am happy; you will soon follow me." This F. Adorno told several friends with great comfort, and once affirmed it publicly in a sermon. He returned to Genoa, his own country, and died there very soon after in the odour of sanctity. Several instantaneous miraculous cures were wrought by the saint's relics and intercession. In 1601, the venerable Cardinal Baronius, confessor to Clement VIII., sent to the clergy of Milan an order of His Holiness, to change the anniversary "*Requiem Mass*," which that saint had founded to perpetuity in the great hospital, into a Mass of the saint; and St. Charles was solemnly canonized by Paul V. in 1610. His sacred remains are now deposited in a rich subterraneous chapel just under the cupola in the great church, and laid in a crystal shrine of an immense value. The altar in this chapel is of solid silver; plates of silver cover the walls of a considerable part of the vault, and a great number of large silver and gold lamps burn there night and day, not to mention the great images and other donaries of gold and silver, with which this chapel is filled by the devotion of many distant princes, cardinals, and bishops. Besides the richest vestments and like ornaments, Giussano tells us that, in eight years, the donaries here amounted to above the value of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold. Thus is he honoured on earth who despised the whole world for Christ.

St. Charles was raised by God to revive an ecclesiastical spirit in the clergy. Priests are called by our Blessed Redeemer the salt of the earth. Through them the world is to be seasoned, as it were, with the Christian spirit of perfect humility, meekness,

patience, charity, devotion, and contempt of the world. How can they infuse these virtues into others who are themselves unacquainted with this spirit? For this, much more is required than barely to know the names of virtues. To be disengaged from the world, and dead to themselves; to love retirement, and to be always employed in the business of their heavenly Father, is the characteristic of the ministers of the altar. Such were the pastors who formed so many saints. The reformation of the manners of the people depends very much upon that of the clergy. *Judgment must begin from the house of God.* A clergyman is one separated from the people, as his name and office imply: separated not only in his education and ministry, but, in some degree, in his life and conversation. How much soever he is filled with the spirit of his profession, this will be soon extinguished, and the contagion of the world or love of vanity, pleasure, riches, and honour, insensibly contracted by too great familiarity with it. *It shall be as with the people, so with the priest.*

## SAINT DOMINIC, CONFESSOR,

FOUNDER OF THE FRIAR PREACHERS.

A.D. 1221.

ST. DOMINIC was born in 1170, at Calaruega, anciently called Calaroga, in Old Castille, in the diocese of Osma. He was of the illustrious house of the Guzmans, which has been frequently ennobled by alliances with divers royal families, and which still flourishes divided into several branches, of which some are grandees of the first class, as the Dukes of Medina-Sidonia and of Medina de las Torres; the Marquises of Azdales, of Monte Alegre, etc.; the Counts of Niebla, of Olivares, etc. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who is chief of this noble house, is acknowledged patron of the whole Order of St. Dominic. This honourable pedigree of our saint has been demonstrated by Echard, Touron, and Bremond, from the archives of Bologna, drawn up in the saint's lifetime, and from other undoubted monuments of the same age in which he lived, though a Christian derives his true nobility from his spiritual regeneration and grace, and it is the chief glory of the saints that they despised all worldly advantages for Christ. St. Dominic's father was called Felix of Guzman, and his mother was Jane of Asa, which family continues still in a flourishing condition in Spain. Their eldest son, Antony, was a priest, and devoted himself to the service of the poor in a hospital, in which employment he died in the odour of sanctity. Mames, the second, embraced our saint's order, and followed him in his missions. Dominic was the third, and had younger brothers. His mother, whilst she was with child of him, dreamed that she brought forth a whelp which carried in its mouth a burning torch, with which it set the whole world on fire. After his birth it was her first care to procure him speedily the grace of baptism, in which sacrament he received the name of Dominic, in honour of a holy abbot called Dominic, of Silos. By her early instructions he was taught happily to turn the first dawning of his reason towards his Creator. Such was his fervour in his childhood that he accus-

tomed himself to rise often in the night to pray, and, leaving his soft bed, used to take his rest lying on the hard boards. His uncle by the mother, the holy archpriest of Gumiel, was his first preceptor. He assisted with his uncle at all the divine offices, and the rest of his time which his studies and other necessary duties left free, he devoted entirely to private prayer, serious or pious reading, and charitable employments ; spending none of his moments in the usual amusements of youth, which yet may be sanctified by moderation and a good intention, inasmuch as some exercise is necessary in that tender age, to maintain the vigour both of the body and mind.

The saint at fourteen years of age was sent to the public schools of Palentia, which were soon after transferred to Salamanca, where the university, which is the most famous and best provided in all Spain, was erected in the middle of the thirteenth century. Dominic here laid in a solid stock of learning, and became a great proficient in rhetoric, philosophy, and divinity. He was well versed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and Fathers. Instructed by the oracle of the Holy Ghost that the Spirit of the Lord rests only on chaste souls, he watched with the utmost attention over his heart, and its avenues, which are the senses ; these he kept in constant subjection by austere mortification. Always walking in the presence of God, he made his conversation even with the virtuous very short. Boards or the floor were the only bed on which he took his rest. The death of his mother was a sensible affliction to him, but he improved it to a more perfect disengagement of his heart from the world. From her example he had learned a tender devotion to the holy Mother of God, and an extraordinary affection for the poor, to assist whom, in a famine, he not only gave all his money and goods, but sold even his books and his own writings and commentaries. This was in the twenty-first year of his age. So heroic a charity touched the hearts of all the masters, scholars, and citizens ; the latter opened their granaries, and the former emptied their purses to supply the necessitous. Thus Dominic, yet a scholar, became by his example a preacher to his masters. The charity with which his heart was moved towards all that were in distress seemed to have no bounds. A poor woman one day begged of him with many tears an alms to redeem her brother who was made a slave by the Moors. The saint's heart seemed rent with compassion, and having already given away all his money to others, he said to her, "I have neither gold nor silver, but am able to work. Offer me to the Moor in exchange for your brother. I am willing to be his slave." The woman, astonished at such a

proposal, durst not accept it ; but Dominic's charity was not less before God. As soon as he had finished his studies and taken his degrees, he explained the Holy Scriptures in the schools, and preached the word of God to the people at Palentia with wonderful reputation and success. Every one looked upon the man of God as an oracle, consulted him in all doubts, whether of learning or of conscience, and acquiesced in his decisions.

Azebedo, a zealous pastor, being made Bishop of Osma in 1198, reformed his chapter, introducing into it regular canons of St. Austin, and invited St. Dominic, who was a native of his diocese, to accept a canonry. The disciple of Jesus Christ, believing that he heard the voice of God Himself in that of his pastor, left Palentia, and received the habit of the regular canons, being then twenty-eight years old. Blessed Jordan, who was familiarly acquainted with St. Dominic, informs us that the holy canon had no sooner taken possession of his prebend than he began to shine as a bright star in the Church of Osma. He practised all the austerities of the ancient fathers of the desert, and attained to that purity of heart and perfect disengagement from creatures which made up the character of those great saints. He read the conferences of Cassian, and made them the rule of his conduct. Whilst he thus laboured to make his own soul pleasing to God, the fire of divine love was daily more and more enkindled in his breast, and he was consumed with an ardent zeal for the salvation of infidels and sinners. To move the divine mercy to regard them with pity, he spent often whole nights in the church at prayer, watering the steps of the altar with abundance of tears, in which he was heard to sigh and groan before the Father of mercy, in the earnestness and deep affliction of his heart ; never ceasing to beg, with the greatest ardour, the grace to gain some of those unhappy souls to Christ. He studied to conceal from the eyes of men as much as possible the holy severity with which he treated his own body ; but its effects appeared sensibly in the decay of his strength. His bishop therefore ordered him to mix a little wine with the water which he drank. He still found means to redouble the macerations of his flesh, as he saw the loss of souls and the offences of God multiplied by the growth of heresy and impiety. Since the reformation of the chapter, the titles and offices of dean and provost were changed into those of prior and sub-prior. The Bishop himself was prior, and St. Dominic sub-prior, or the immediate head and superior of that body. He also assisted his prelate in the government and reformation of the whole diocese, and preached in it assiduously, with incredible zeal and fruit, during five years.

Alphonso IX., King of Castille, chose the Bishop of Osma to

go ambassador into La Marche, to negotiate a match between the daughter of the earl of that country and his son Prince Ferdinand. Some take this La Marche for a province in the north of Germany, or in Sweden ; others for a territory of that name in Limosin, in France. The Bishop took Dominic with him. In their way they passed through Languedoc, which was then filled with the abominations of the heresy of the Albigenses. He in whose house they lodged at Toulouse was tainted with it. St. Dominic, pierced to the heart with compassion for the unhappy condition of his soul, in that one night made him a perfect convert. The treaty of marriage being concluded, the ambassadors returned to Spain, but were sent back with a sumptuous equipage to conduct the princess thither. They arrived at her father's house only to assist at the melancholy ceremony of her funeral. Being desirous to devote themselves to labour for the conversion of souls deprived of the light of faith, they sent back their equipage into Spain, and went themselves to Rome to ask of Pope Innocent III. leave either to stay in Languedoc to labour among the Albigenses, or to go to preach the Gospel to the infidels in the North. His Holiness, charmed with their zeal and virtue, exhorted them rather to choose the neighbouring harvest, and to oppose a heresy which threatened the Church with the utmost fury. The holy Bishop begged he might be allowed to resign his episcopal see in Spain. This His Holiness would not consent to, but gave him leave to stay two years in Languedoc. In their return they made a visit of devotion to Citeaux, a place then renowned for the sanctity of the monks that inhabited it. They arrived at Montpellier towards the end of the year 1205, where they met several Cistercian abbots, who were commissioned by the Pope to oppose the reigning heresies. The Archbishop and Dominic proposed that, to labour with success, they ought to employ persuasion and example rather than terror, and that their preachers should imitate the poverty of Christ and the apostles, travelling on foot, without money, equipage, or provisions. The abbots readily came into the proposal, and sent away their horses and servants. These missionaries saw the dangers and difficulties that attended their undertaking, but they were persuaded they should be abundantly recompensed for all they could suffer if they should be so happy as to become instrumental in rescuing one soul from slavery and sin, or to lay down their life in such a cause. The prodigious growth of impiety in that country, and the obstinacy of the disease, moved them to compassion, but did not terrify them, though the evils seemed extreme. The heretics, not content to fill their own country with terror and desolation, overran several other provinces in troops of four, five, or eight thousand men, pillaged

the countries, and massacred the priests, flaying some alive, and scourging others to death ; in plundering the churches, they broke and profaned the sacred vessels, and sacrilegiously converted the ornaments of the altars into women's clothes. King Philip Augustus cut in pieces ten thousand of these banditti in the province of Berri, they having penetrated into the very centre of his kingdom. Dominic undertook to stem the torrent by his feeble voice ; and God was pleased to make his preaching the instrument of His grace, to strike the rocks, to open the uncircumcised ears, and to soften the hardened hearts of many which even the thunder of a St. Bernard had not been able to move. The conversion of many most obstinate sinners may be regarded as the greatest of our saint's miracles.

The first conference of the missionaries with the heretics was held in a borough near Montpellier, and lasted eight days, during which each day several remarkable conversions were wrought. The apostolic men preached after this eight days at Beziers, where they gained several, though the far greater number shut their ears against the Catholic faith. Diego and Dominic proceeded thence to Carcassone and Montreal. At this last place they disputed during fifteen days with the four chiefs of the Albigensian sect, by which conference a hundred and fifty persons were brought over to the truth. St. Dominic drew up in writing a short exposition of the Catholic faith, with proofs of each article from the New Testament. This writing he gave to the heretics to examine. Their ministers and chiefs, after much altercation about it, agreed to throw it into the fire, saying, that if it burned, they would regard the doctrine which it contained as false. Being cast thrice into the flames, it was not damaged by them. Nevertheless, only one officer that was present, and afterward publicly attested the miracle, was converted by it. This, Peter of Vaux-Sernay assures us he heard St. Dominic himself relate. At Fanjaux, the Bishop and St. Dominic were met by Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, and twelve other abbots, and another great disputation was there held with the heretics before arbitrators. The judges and ministers here proposed to cast the same writing of St. Dominic into the fire. All present agreed to this trial, and a great fire being made in the middle of the company, it was again thrice thrown into it, and as often taken out without receiving any damage. This miracle is recorded by Jordan, and by the ancient writers of St. Dominic's life ; and Theodoric of Apolda, Bernard Guidonis, and F. Humbert, expressly assure us that this miracle at Fanjaux must not be confounded with the like which had been wrought before at Montreal. This latter was performed in the castle of Raymund Durfort, whose

posterity built in it a chapel in honour of St. Dominic, and gave this castle to his order. The fruit of this public miracle was the conversion of great numbers of heretics of both sexes.

St. Dominic saw with grief that many children of Catholic parents, for want of the means of procuring a proper education, were neglected in their youth, or fell into the hands of those that corrupted their morals or their faith. To cut off the source of this fatal disorder, being assisted by the liberalities of several bishops, he founded the numerous nunnery of our Lady of Prouille, near Fanjaux, in 1206, which he put under the rule of St. Austin, adding certain particular constitutions, which were approved by Gregory IX. This house became a sanctuary to many ladies who desired to find a secure retreat from the corruption of the world, and a nursery of religion and piety for those who were afterward to encounter its dangers. This monastery is regarded to this day as the chief or mother-house of all the nuns of this order. In 1207, a great conference was opened between the Catholic preachers and the heretics, in the palace of Raymund Roger, Count of Foix, who treated both parties in their turns at his table. His countess and one of his sisters followed the Waldenses; his other sister adhered to the Albigenses. The issue of this disputation was the conversion of a great number of heretics of distinction, and of him who had been appointed judge or arbitrator, a man of learning, who had been a warm abettor of the sect of the Albigenses. After this conference, the Cistercians returned to their monasteries, and the holy Bishop of Osma to his diocese, the two years allowed him by the Pope being almost expired. The heretics themselves had a great opinion of his sanctity, and called him one of the predestinate. He died soon after his arrival at Osma.

He had been almost two years superior of the mission in Languedoc, in which charge, at his departure, he appointed St. Dominic his successor, to whom Pope Innocent III. confirmed the same in 1207. The saint, vested with this authority, established wholesome regulations to be observed by the zealous preachers who laboured with him. Some date from this time, but improperly, the institution of his order. The murder of the Pope's legate, Peter of Castelnau, or Chateauneuf, who was assassinated by a servant of the Count of Toulouse and another ruffian, on the 15th of January, 1208, and other outrages committed by the heretics, set all Christendom in a flame, and an army was set on foot to extirpate the authors of these violences. St. Dominic had no share in those transactions, and made use of no other arms to repulse injuries than those of meekness and patience. He never



complained of any affronts or evils which he received, courageously encountered every danger wherever the good of souls called him, being desirous to glorify God by shedding his blood in His cause if called to such a happiness, and he studied only to procure all the good in his power to those who hated and persecuted him. A certain heretic, who was unknown to the saint, offered himself one day to be his guide ; but led him through rough ways over stones and briers, so that the saint's feet were much wounded, for he always walked barefoot. The meekness with which Dominic received the affront, and the joy with which he comforted his treacherous guide when he saw him in confusion, calling his blood the subject of his triumph, so moved the heretic that he became a Catholic. At another time, the heretics posted two assassins to murder the saint, at a place between Prouille and Fanjaux, which to this day, from that black attempt, retains the name of *Assicari* ; but he escaped their hands. Afterwards some of that party asked the saint what he would have done if he had met them. "I would have thanked God," said he, "and would have begged as a favour that my blood might have been let out drop by drop, and my limbs lopped off one by one, to prolong my torments, and enhance my crown," with which answer his enemies were exceedingly affected. A poor man infected with the heresy of the Albigenses confessed the abominations of that sect, but declared he could not abandon those upon whom he depended for his daily subsistence. St. Dominic hearing him make this answer, was moved with so tender a compassion for a soul upon the brink of perishing, that he offered to sell himself for a slave to procure this man means for his subsistence, that he might serve God ; and he would have done it had not God furnished the poor man with a provision otherwise, says B. Jordan and Theodoric. When the army of the crusade approached, the saint redoubled his earnestness among an obstinate people, and saved many. When he went among the crusaders, the disorders, vices, and ignorance of the mysteries of faith and duties of a Christian life, which he found in many who had joined that army merely for the sake of plunder, moved his compassion and zeal, and he laboured among them with no less diligence than he had done among the Albigenses. The Count of Montfort was so taken with his sanctity, that he thought he could never give him sufficient marks of his affection and esteem. The condition of this disjointed army was such, that the troops of which it was composed returned home as they pleased, after having served forty days, and the general, who sometimes saw two hundred thousand men under his banner, was often so much abandoned as

to be scarce able to assemble a thousand. At a time when he had with him only twelve hundred men, he was attacked by an army of above a hundred thousand, some say two hundred thousand ; yet St. Dominic assured him God would grant him a glorious victory. The Count of Montfort threw himself into Muret, a small fortress, and in a sally on the 12th September, 1213, by his incredible valour and address, routed and dispersed this great army, which left the King of Arragon and sixteen thousand men dead in the field. This prediction was the only share which the original historians mention St. Dominic to have had in this war, whatever certain moderns with Baillet may affirm. The continuators of Bollandus pretend, that in quality of inquisitor he delivered those among the Albigenses that were taken, and persisted obstinate, to the secular judges, that they might put them to death. But this is mere conjecture founded on mistake, as the learned Fathers Echard and Touron have shown. St. Dominic never appears to have any way concurred in the execution of any of those unhappy persons that then suffered. The authors of his life mention, that by his credit and entreaties, he saved the life of a young man who was going to the place where he was to be burnt, the saint assuring the judges that he would die in the Catholic faith, which was verified when, some years after, he became a zealous Catholic, and made a happy end in the holy order of our saint. But the original historians mention no other arms to have been used by him against the heretics than those of instruction, patience, penance, fasting, watching, tears, and prayer.

So ardent was his zeal for the salvation of souls, that he was consumed with a burning desire to sacrifice for them his liberty, health, and life. Inured to continual labours, he was indefatigable in his apostolic functions ; and the greatest difficulties, far from abating, seemed to raise his courage, and to give new vigour to his heroic soul. To his incredible labours he added the austerities of penance. He often allowed himself, in his fasts, especially during all Lent, no other nourishment than bread and water ; and spending with his companion a great part of the night in prayer, he reserved only a short time for rest, which he took lying on a board. Regardless of dangers, he never discontinued his missions or preaching among the Albigenses, how much soever their rage was exasperated. He often boldly exposed himself to the most cruel torments and death among them ; he even courageously met a band of ruffians near Carcassone, who were still reeking with the blood of a Cistercian abbot and monk whom they had barbarously slain. But God was his Protector, and prayer his shield and strength. During the great battle of Muret, St. Dominic was not

in the field, as some moderns have pretended, but in the church, within the fortress, at his prayers. The same was his practice on other like occasions. Theodoric, Stephen of Sasenhac, and others relate, that when St. Dominic was employed on his mission at Castres, the abbot of St. Vincent's one day desired his company at dinner. After sermon, the saint continued at his devotions in the church so long that he quite forgot the necessities of the body, which he was frequently apt to do. At the hour of dinner, the abbot sent a clerk to seek for him. The messenger knew the church to be the place where he was generally to be found, and going thither, saw him ravished in an ecstasy, raised several cubits above the ground, and without motion. He contemplated him a considerable time in that posture, and waited till the saint coming to himself, gently fell to the ground, before he durst approach him.

St. Dominic, during his apostolical labours in Languedoc, instituted the celebrated devotion of the Rosary, consisting of the recital of fifteen Our Fathers, and a hundred and fifty Hail Marys, in honour of the fifteen principal mysteries of the life and sufferings of our Blessed Saviour, and of His holy Mother. The divine and most excellent prayer which our Redeemer, who promises to grant all that we request in His Name, has drawn up as the form of our supplications, contains the petitions of all those things we are to ask or hope for of God, and comprises the exercise of all the sublime virtues, by which we pay to Him the rational homage of our affections. In the Angelical Salutation are comprised our praises and thanks to God for the great mysteries of the Incarnation and of our redemption, the source of all our good, and these praises are expressed in words of which the Holy Ghost Himself was the Author, which, though addressed to the Virgin Mary, contain much more the praises of her divine Son, whom we acknowledge the cause of all her and our happiness. The earnest intercession of this Mother of God, and of mercy, is also implored in our behalf both at present and for the tremendous moment of our departure hence; and to move her and her divine Son's compassion, we acknowledge our own deep sense of our miseries, which we display before the eyes of Heaven under the extensive and most expressive humbling title of sinners. These prayers are so disposed in the Rosary, as to comprise an abstract of the history of our blessed Redeemer's holy life and sufferings, the great object of the continual devotion and meditation of Christians, for each mystery whereof we praise God, and through it ask His graces and blessings for ourselves and others. The ignorance of many, and the blasphemies of others among the Albigenses, with regard to these most sacred Mysteries, moved the zealous and apostolic servant of

God to teach the people to honour them by an easy method equally adapted to persons of the weakest understanding and to those that are most learned, or the most advanced in the exercises of sublime contemplation, who find in it a most inexhaustible fund of the highest acts of faith, hope, divine love, praise, and thanksgiving, with a supplication for succour in all spiritual and corporal necessities, which they always repeat with fresh ardour. St. Dominic afterward established the same method of devotion at Bologna and in other places.

The saint, after having founded his nunnery of Prouille, established an institute afterward called his Third Order, in which the strictest regularity is observed, but no extraordinary austerities are prescribed. Some persons of this Third Order live in monasteries, and are properly nuns; others live in their own houses, and endeavour to sanctify their work and the duties of a civil life by certain exercises of regularity and devotion, and by dedicating part of their time to works of mercy, especially in serving the poor in hospitals and prisons. St. Dominic had spent ten years in preaching in Languedoc when, in 1215, he founded his religious order of Preaching Friars, the plan of which he had meditated some time before. He had till then worn the habit of a regular canon of St. Austin, and followed that rule; but he earnestly desired to revive an apostolic spirit in the ministers of the altar, the want of which in many was a subject of great scandal to the people, and a great source of the overflowings of vice and heresy. This spirit is founded on a sincere contempt of the world, and a perfect disinterestedness; for so long as the love of the world, or a relish for its vanity, delights, and riches, keeps possession of a heart, there can be no room for the Holy Ghost. The fences by which this spirit had been formerly maintained in the clergy were then by custom easily broke through by many without scruple, wherefore he conceived a design of raising others that might be stronger. With this view he established an order of religious men, not like the ancient monks of the desert, who were laymen, and merely contemplatives, but who with the strictest retirement and assiduous exercises of contemplation should join a close application to sacred studies and all the functions of a pastoral life, especially that of preaching. He prescribed austere fasts, perpetual abstinence from flesh (which the reformed monasteries of this order still observe), and the most severe poverty, ordaining that his friars should receive their coarse subsistence from the alms of the faithful, though their houses are not forbidden, like the Franciscans, to enjoy in common small rents in money. The principal aim of the saint by this institution was to multiply in the Church zealous preachers, whose spirit and

example might be a means more easily to spread the light of faith and the fire of divine charity, and to assist the pastors in healing the wounds which the Church had received by the inundation of heresy and vice.

St. Dominic for a long time recommended his design to God by fervent prayer, and communicated it to the Bishops of Languedoc and Provence, who applauded the project, and pressed him to hasten the execution. Every one judged him worthy to be the father of preachers, who was their perfect model. Sixteen of his fellow-missionaries came readily into his project, and Peter Cellani, one of this number, gave some houses he was possessed of in Toulouse, in which they formed themselves into a regular community, under the protection of the Bishop. This was the first convent of the order. To establish it the founder was obliged to go to Rome, whither he accompanied Fulco, the Bishop of Toulouse, who was called to assist at the fourth general council of the Lateran. Pope Innocent III., who had then governed the Church eighteen years, received the saint with great demonstrations of kindness, on account of the reputation of his sanctity and the recommendation of his bishop. He had himself drawn up a decree, which he inserted in the tenth chapter of the council, to enforce the obligation of preaching, and the necessity of choosing for pastors men who are powerful in words and works, who will instruct and edify their flocks both by example and preaching, a neglect of which was the source of the ignorance, disorders, and heresies that then reigned in several provinces. Nevertheless, though the saint's design was most agreeable to His Holiness, Theodoric, the Bishop of Orvieto, and Vincent of Beauvois say that he at first made some difficulty to approve his order, upon late complaints that too great a multiplication of orders would bring confusion, and that it was better to reform those that were already established. But the same authors add that the night following the Pope dreamed he saw the Lateran Church in danger of falling, and that St. Dominic stepped in and supported it with his shoulders. Be that as it will, B. Jordan and F. Humbert assure us that the Pope approved the new order by word of mouth, bidding the founder draw up the constitutions and lay them before him.

The saint was present at the fourth council of Lateran, which, though very numerous and splendid, lasted only three weeks, having condemned the errors of the Albigenses and other heretics, framed several canons for the reformation of manners, and taken into consideration a new crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, which had been lately conquered by the infidels a second

time. The twenty-first is the famous canon which enjoins, that all the faithful who are arrived to years of discretion shall confess all their sins at least once a year to their own *proper priest*, and shall receive the Eucharist at least every Easter, unless, with the advice of their proper priest, they abstain from it for some time, upon some reasonable account. The thirteenth prohibits the erecting of any new religious order. The council, which consisted of four hundred and twelve bishops, and near eight hundred abbots, priors, and deputies of absent prelates, broke up at the end of November, 1215, and St. Dominic arrived at Toulouse the beginning of the following year. After a mature consultation with his sixteen colleagues, of whom eight were Frenchmen, seven Spaniards, and one Englishman, he made choice of the rule of the canons of the great St. Austin, who was himself an eminent preacher. He added certain particular constitutions, and borrowed from the Order of Premontre the rule of observing perpetual abstinence from flesh, and a rigorous fast from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross to Easter. Pope Innocent III., famous for his great actions and for several learned and pious books which he composed, died on the 16th of July, 1216, having filled the pontifical chair from January, 1198. Honorius III. was chosen in his place. This change retarded St. Dominic's second journey to Rome; and, in the meantime, he finished his first convent at Toulouse, to which the Bishop gave the church of St. Romanus. The Bishop of Fermo in Italy, a great admirer of our saint's virtue, also gave him at the same time the church of St. Thomas, with a convent for his order, in that city.

St. Dominic arrived at Rome with a copy of his rules in September, 1216. He found access to His Holiness difficult for some time, but was encouraged by a vision recorded by Theodoric, and copied by Fleury. Pope Honorius III. confirmed his order and its constitutions by two bulls, both dated on the 26th of December, the same year. He detained the saint several months in Rome to preach in that city, which commission he executed with incredible applause and success. He put the Pope in mind that several persons that attended his court could not seek instructions abroad, and therefore a domestic master of the sacred studies in his palace would be of great advantage. His Holiness hereupon created the office of Master of the Sacred Palace, who by his place is the Pope's domestic theologian, assists at all consistories, whether public or private, confers the degree of doctor at court, approves all theses and books, and nominates the Pope's preachers. If he is absent from court, he has a right to substitute another in his place. Pope Honorius obliged St. Dominic to take upon him-

self that charge, which has been ever since committed to one of his order. The saint at Rome dictated comments on the epistles of St. Paul, which are much commended by several writers of that age, though they are now lost. He had learned from St. Chrysostom what an inexhaustible treasure of piety and spiritual knowledge a Christian preacher will draw from assiduous meditation on the inspired writings of this apostle, which he strongly recommended to his religious, and he carried always a copy of that sacred book in his pocket. When not employed in public functions or necessary duties, he was always to be found in the church, or in retirement. When out of necessity he conversed with others, his discourse was usually only on God, and always seasoned with so much unction and prudence that worldlings never thought it importunate; and pious persons sought his conversation with extreme eagerness. With the consent of His Holiness, he returned to Toulouse in May, and spent some time in forming his religious brethren in the practice of the most perfect maxims of an interior life, the most necessary qualification in preachers of the divine word. He exhorted them strenuously to promote the study of literature in his order, to attend in the first place to the sanctification of their own souls, and to remember they were the successors of the apostles in establishing everywhere the kingdom of Christ. He added excellent instructions on humility, a perfect distrust in themselves, and an entire confidence in God alone, by which they were to stand invincible under afflictions and persecutions, and courageously to carry on the war in which they were engaged against the world and the powers of hell. After this discourse on the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady he dismissed some of his religious to Spain and Portugal, and some to Paris, appointing F. Matthew superior among these latter, and sending with him his own brother Manez de Guzman. The extraordinary reputation of St. Dominic and his preaching friars drew many learned doctors and other eminent men into this new order, and the saint settled convents at Lyons, Montpellier, Bayonne, etc.

St. Dominic went again to Rome in 1217, and the Pope desiring that his order should have a house in that city, gave him the church of St. Sixtus; and whilst a convent was building there, the saint, by order of His Holiness, read lectures of theology, both in the palace and in the city, and preached in St. Peter's Church with such eloquence and zeal as drew on him the attention and admiration of the whole city. The many illustrious miracles by which God honoured his ministry in that city procured him the name of the Thaumaturgus of that age. Among others, Theodoric relates that a certain gentlewoman named Gutadona, coming one day

home from hearing his sermon, found her little child dead. In her grief she took him in her arms out of the cradle, and carrying him to St. Sixtus's, laid him at the feet of the saint. She said nothing, but her sorrow spoke without words. The servant of God was moved to compassion, and after saying a fervent prayer, made the sign of the Cross on the child, and restored him to life. The Pope would have published this miracle in the pulpit, but the tears, entreaties, and confusion of the saint prevented him. St. Dominic likewise raised, whole and sound, a mason who had been crushed to death by the fall of a vault in building the convent of St. Sixtus. He restored to health a religious man, the procurator of his convent, whilst the brethren were reciting by his bedside the prayers appointed for one in the agony. The Bishop of Orvieto assures us that he had the account of this miracle from the mouth of the person who had been thus miraculously delivered from the gates of death, and recovered in a moment a state of perfect health which he long enjoyed, and of which he made a very good use.

St. Dominic, besides many other miracles, raised a third man to life in this monastery of St. Sixtus, in the presence of a great multitude of honourable persons. This was the young lord Napoleon. The fact is related by Theodoric of Apolda, F. Humbert, a third very ancient historian quoted by F. Echard, John Longinus, Malvenda, and many others, and happened on the following occasion: Several nuns lived in Rome without keeping enclosure, and almost without regularity, some dispersed in small monasteries, others in the houses of their parents or friends; for, before the Council of Trent, strict perpetual enclosure was not always a necessary part of that state; and though, since that council, Bonacina, and some other canonists, call it an essential law, yet some nunneries in Flanders plead an exemption upon pretence of ancient prescription. Pope Innocent III. had made several attempts to assemble all such nuns then in Rome into one enclosed house, but had not been able, with all his address and authority, to compass it. Honorius III. seeing all other methods miscarry, committed the management of this reformation to St. Dominic. The saint desired that three cardinals should be nominated commissaries with him, in order to facilitate the success of the commission, and His Holiness appointed Hugolin, dean of the Sacred College, Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, and Stephen, of Fossa Nuova, cardinal priest of the twelve apostles. St. Dominic, in order to remove several difficulties, offered to leave to these nuns his own monastery of St. Sixtus, which was built and then ready to receive them, and which Innocent III. had formerly



offered them; and he undertook to build for his friars a new convent at St. Sabina; to which the Pope willingly agreed. The monastery of St. Mary, beyond the Tiber, was the principal and most obstinate of those that were to be thus reformed. The saint repaired thither with the three cardinals, and exhorted the nuns to a compliance with such force of reasoning, and so much charity in his heart, that the truth was victorious in his mouth. The abbess first of all, then all the nuns, except one, entered into a voluntary engagement to obey; but the devil was not so easily to be triumphed over. No sooner were the commissaries gone but the parents, friends, and protectors of the nuns ran thither, and buzzed it in their ears that they would repent at leisure of so hasty a step, which could never be recalled; that their house was too ancient and noble, their conduct too virtuous and irreproachable, their privileges of too old a standing to be struck at; and that no authority could oblige them to rules of that sort, to which they had never engaged themselves, and under which they would never have embraced that manner of life. Such discourses were too flattering not to please persons to whom their present independence seemed too dear and valuable a right to be given up. Accordingly the whole community changed their former resolution, and were determined never to comply. St. Dominic gave them some days to reflect, and prevented the Pope from having recourse to violent measures, which never gain the heart, and are seldom expedient in duties which must be voluntary; in the meantime he fasted and prayed, recommending the matter to God. After some days he went again to St. Mary's, said Mass there, and after he had offered the Holy Sacrifice, made a second discourse to the nuns, mildly reproaching them for their reluctancy, saying, "Can you then repent of a promise you have made to God? can you refuse to give yourselves up to Him without reserve, and to serve Him with your whole hearts?" He tempered his discourse with that natural sweetness which it was hard for any one to resist, and at the same time his exhortation was so strong and affecting that, at the end of it, the abbess and all her nuns confirmed to him by vow their readiness to comply in all things with His Holiness's inclinations. They moreover begged that the saint himself would be their director, and give them his own rule, to which he agreed. Whilst things were making ready for their removal, he shut up the avenues of the cloister, to prevent their friends having access who might any more endeavour to stagger their resolution.

On Ash Wednesday in 1218, the abbess and some of her nuns went to their new monastery of St. Sixtus, to take possession of it. They were in the chapter-house with St. Dominic and the three

cardinals above mentioned, treating of the rights, revenues, and administration of the new community, when, on a sudden, there came in a person, tearing his hair, and making great lamentation, crying out that the lord Napoleon, Cardinal Stephen's nephew, was thrown from his horse, and killed by the fall. At this news the afflicted uncle fell speechless with his head upon the breast of St. Dominic, who sat by his side ; and his silence was more expressive of his sorrow than any words could have been. The saint endeavoured at first to alleviate his grief ; then ordered the body of Napoleon to be brought into the house, and bid brother Tancred make an altar ready that he might say Mass. When he had prepared himself, the cardinals with their attendants, the abbess with her nuns, the Dominican friars, and a great concourse of people went to the church. The saint, in celebrating the divine mysteries, shed a flood of tears, and while he elevated the body of Christ in his pure hands, was himself in an ecstasy lifted up a whole cubit from the ground, in the sight, and to the amazement of all that were present. The sacrifice being ended, the blessed man went to the corpse, to implore the mercy of God, being followed by all the company ; and standing by the body, he disposed the bruised limbs in their proper places ; and then betook himself to prayer. After some time he rose up, and made the sign of the cross over the corpse ; then lifting up his hands to heaven, he himself being, by the power of God, at the same time raised from the ground, and suspended in the air, cried out with a loud voice, " Napoleon, I say to thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, arise." That instant, in the sight of the whole multitude, the young man arose sound and whole. Not only all present, but the whole city, particularly the Sacred College, and the Pope, gave solemn thanks to the Almighty, who, in their unhappy days, had vouchsafed to renew the wonders which He had wrought in the establishment of His Church. The Dominican friars having taken possession of the church and convent of St. Sabina, the nuns of St. Mary were settled in that of St. Sixtus before the first Sunday in Lent, receiving a new habit from the hands of St. Dominic, together with his rule. Yvo, Bishop of Cracow, and chancellor of Poland, was at Rome when Napoleon was raised to life, and an eye-witness to that stupendous miracle. He entreated St. Dominic to give the habit of his order to his two nephews, SS. Hyacinth and Ceslas, and to two others of his domestics. The saint sent certain religious brethren to Bologna in 1217, there to lay the foundation of a convent, which has continued ever since one of the most flourishing monasteries in the world.

In 1218 he took a journey from Rome through Languedoc into

Spain, and founded a famous convent at Segovia, and another at Madrid. He returned to Toulouse in April, 1219, and from thence went to Paris. This seems by all the ancient histories of his life to have been the first visit he made to that city, though Baillet pretends, without grounds, as Touron shows, that he had been there before. He did not stay many weeks in that capital, but gained souls to God by his sermons and instructions, and received into his order many persons of eminence. Alexander II., King of Scotland, happened to be then at Paris, being come to pay a visit to Queen Blanche, the mother of St. Lewis. He was much taken with the discourse and sanctity of the holy founder, and obtained of him a promise that he would send some of his religious brethren into Scotland, as Hector Boëtius and Bishop Lesley inform us. The saint settled in good order his great convent, which was founded in the street of St. Jacques, from which the Dominican friars are usually called in France Jacobins. After this he left Paris, and having founded convents on his road at Avignon, Asti, and Bergamo, arrived at Bologna about the end of summer in 1219, which city he made from that time his ordinary residence to the end of his life, though he sometimes made excursions to Rome, Florence, and other places. At Bologna, the curate of St. Nicholas, with the bishop's consent, bestowed his church on the saint, and he, and several archdeacons, doctors, and eminent professors, entered themselves in his order. In 1220 he waited on Pope Honorius III. at Viterbo, and met St. Francis at Rome in the house of Cardinal Hugolin, their common friend, who, afterward succeeding Honorius III. under the name of Gregory IX., chose out of the order of St. Dominic thirty-three bishops, one patriarch of Antioch, and eight legates. St. Dominic had till then taken no other title but that of superior. In 1220 Honorius III. commanded him to be styled general; and the saint returning to Bologna, there held a chapter of all the superiors in his order, at Whitsuntide the same year.

Wherever the saint travelled, he frequently preached, even on the road; and always with that incredible success which can only be the fruit of continual prayer, animated with the most ardent charity. The greatest part of the night he often spent in churches at the foot of the altars. Though he was superior, he was distinguished in nothing from the lowest among his brethren but by his more profound humility, and more rigorous abstinence. The people at Bologna attended his sermons with such insatiable avidity, that whilst he stayed there he usually preached every day, and often several times the same day.

The incredible fatigues which this apostolic life cost the servant

of God were no motive with him to abate his continual fasts and other austerities, so different is the spirit of fervour with which the saints are animated from the sloth of those Christians who seek every shadow of pretence for dispensing themselves even from fasts of precept, to serve as a cloak to cover their sensuality and remissness. The saint, on the contrary, burned with a holy zeal to make his body a perpetual victim of penance, and therefore allowed it no condescension but what necessity made indispensable. He embraced with joy the occasions of suffering which were continual in his ministry, and when, by walking barefoot in the roughest roads, his feet were bruised or sore, he cheerfully called it a part of his penance. To nourish in his heart a perfect contempt of the world, and disengagement from its toys, he was a sincere lover of holy poverty, being sensible how easily a secret glue sticks to the affections amidst riches, vanity, and abundance. A perfect spirit of disinterestedness being essential to virtue, and the strictest obligation of a state in which the preliminary condition is that the heart be, in the most perfect manner, dead to the world, the holy man was most scrupulous that no pretence should weaken this virtue, which was deeply rooted in his soul. He took all possible precautions to prevent riches ever becoming the portion and the bane of his order. He strenuously refused to accept large or superfluous donations. When a rich man of Bologna, by a public deed which he had procured secretly to be ratified by the Bishop, hoping that the prelate's authority might overcome the saint's reluctance, had settled his estate on his convent of St. Nicholas, the holy founder was no sooner apprised of it than he renounced the donation for ever, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of many, publicly tore the deed in presence of the benefactor, as F. Ralph, of Faënza, an eye-witness, relates. Much more was he an enemy to sordid presents, any indirect ways of procuring them, or that importunity in asking which is a kind of extortion, and, when for superfluities, a robbery of the poor. That minister of the altar debases the dignity of the sacred character with which he is invested, and of the divine mysteries with the dispensation of which he is honoured, who suffers any view of temporal interest to steal into his heart, or secretly to have any share in his motives of action. Such a one is a hireling, and by covetousness loses the fruit of his labours. He who serves the altar is entitled to live by it; but a faithful minister is careful not to lose his eternal reward by seeking one that is temporal, and fears to impair the divine honour by suffering the purity of his intention, in seeking *only* God in all that he does, to be sullied by the least mixture or deliberate thought of anything else. To prevent as much as possible the danger of such a snare, St.

Dominic desired to put off all superfluities in his order ; and the more easily to remove the passions and desires which they beget in the heart, he would have all that could be spared given immediately to the poor, and allowed no one to be solicitous for the morrow. To one so perfectly dead to himself and the world, the victory over his passions seemed natural and easy ; and its visible fruit was a happy tranquillity and evenness of soul which nothing seemed able to disturb, or ever move to the least impatience or complaint. By these virtues and happy dispositions he was fitted for an admirable purity of heart and sublime grace of prayer, to which we are chiefly to ascribe the high degree of sanctity to which he was raised, and the wonderful fruits of his zeal in converting so many hardened sinners, and in promoting the spiritual advancement of others. He never began to instruct anyone, or to do any other spiritual function, without first imploring on his knees the intercession of the Mother of God. Prayer and holy meditation were his darling exercises, to which he devoted both his days and nights, whenever other duties or necessary functions allowed it. In conversing with others it was his delight to speak only of God and heavenly things ; and in travelling he often used to say to his companions, "Walk a little before, and let us think on our Redeemer." This he did that he might give a freer scope to his sighs and tears.

Humility gave his prayer its force and efficacy. Before he came into any town he fell on the ground, and begged of God that the entrance of such a sinner might not draw down His vengeance on the people. He behaved himself as the servant of all his brethren, and desired as much as possible to bear the burdens of everyone ; and if he lay under a necessity of giving an account of his actions, his modesty and sincere humility appeared in all his words. He extolled the zeal and charity of the bishops and magistrates, and the devotion and piety of the people ; forgetting only the share which he had in what was properly his own work. He never spoke of his birth, the success of his labours, his great enterprises, or anything else that could tend to his honour. It was his study to conceal his charities to the poor, and the graces which he received from God. Nevertheless, to show the excess of the divine mercy, he sometimes communicated certain secret sentiments of his heart to some intimate friends who were great servants of God. Thus, as he was one day conversing with a devout prior of the Cistercian Order, who was afterward Bishop of Alatri, speaking of the goodness of God, he said, that he had never asked any particular favour of the divine Goodness which he had not obtained. "Why then," said the prior, "do not you ask that

Master Conrad may receive a call from God to enter himself in your order?" This Conrad was a German, a man in the highest repute, doctor and professor in laws, and in his inclinations most opposite to such a state. St. Dominic spent that night in the church at prayer, begging this favour of God. Next morning, at the hour of prime, Conrad came into the church, and threw himself at the holy founder's feet, begging that he might be admitted to the habit ; and he became a great ornament to this order by his learning, and much more by the sanctity of his life. Constantine, Bishop of Orvieto, assures us that he received this account from the aforesaid prior when he was Bishop of Alatri. St. Dominic never ceased to pray for the conversion of infidels and sinners. It was his earnest desire, if it had been God's will, to shed his blood for Christ, and to travel over all the barbarous nations of the earth to announce to them the happy doctrine of eternal life. In these warm sentiments of holy zeal he made the ministry of the divine word the chief end of his institute, would have all his religious to be applied to it, every one according to his capacity, and those who had particular talents for it never to discontinue the office of preaching, except in certain intervals allotted to retirement, that they might preach to themselves in silence. To this great function he prepared his religious by long habits of virtue, especially of prayer, humility, self-denial, and obedience. It was a maxim which he frequently inculcated to them "that a man who governs his passions is master of the world. We must either command them, or be enslaved to them. It is better to be the hammer than the anvil." He taught his missionaries the art of preaching to the heart by animating them with an ardent zeal and charity. Being once asked after preaching in what book he had studied his sermon, "In no other," said he, "than in that of charity."

Though mild, and in things indifferent full of condescension to all, he was inflexible in maintaining the severe discipline he had established in his order. St. Francis of Assisium, coming to Bologna in 1220, was so much offended to find the convent of his friars in that city built in a stately manner, and not consistent with his idea of the austere poverty and penance which he professed by his rule, that he would not lodge in it, and went to the monastery of St. Dominic, which was mean and low, where he stayed some days to enjoy our saint's conversation. St. Dominic made frequent missionary excursions; and founded convents at Bergamo, Brescia, Faënza, and Viterbo, and visited those he had already founded. He sent some of his religious into Morocco, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, and Ireland; and brother Gilbert with twelve others into England, who established monasteries of this order in Canter-

bury, London, and Oxford. The holy patriarch, in his second general chapter, held at Bologna in 1221, divided his order into eight provinces, and sent some of his religious into Hungary, Greece, Palestine, and other countries. Among these missionaries F. Paul of Hungary founded in Lower Hungary the monasteries of Gever and Vesprim, converted great numbers of idolaters in Croatia, Sclavonia, Transylvania, Valachia, Moldavia, Bosnia, and Servia, and leaving the churches which he had there founded under the care of other labourers, preached with like success in Gumania, the inhabitants of which country were most savage and barbarous. He baptized among them a duke called Brut, with his vassals, and one of the chief princes of the country named Bernborch, Andrew the King of Hungary, and father of St. Elizabeth, standing godfather. This zealous apostle of so many nations suffered a glorious martyrdom with ninety religious friars of his order, dispersed in those parts; some being beheaded, others shot with arrows, stabbed with lances, or burnt by the Tartars in 1242, in their great irruption into those countries. Bishop Sadoc, with forty-nine religious of this order, was butchered for the faith by these barbarians in a second irruption in 1260, at Sendomir in Poland, and is honoured on the 2nd of June.

St. Dominic had a foresight of his happy death long before it happened. Setting out on a journey from Bologna for Milan, he said to his friends there, "You now see me well in health; but before the glorious assumption of the Virgin Mother I shall depart hence to the Lord." He returned to Bologna in the heats of summer, and was seized with a burning fever, which from the beginning was judged mortal. Nevertheless, according to his custom, he desired to pass a great part of the night in the church at prayer; but after matins was obliged to retire to his chamber, though he did not lie down on a bed. During his sickness he continued always cheerful in his countenance. When he was grown very weak he assembled his religious brethren, and in a moving discourse which he called his last testament, and the inheritance which he left them, he exhorted them to constant humility, poverty, fervour, and watchfulness in particular against the enemy of purity. Seeing them weep about him, he promised never to forget them when he should be gone to God. After having received the last Sacraments he continued in secret prayer till he calmly expired on the 6th of August, 1221, being fifty-one years old. Cardinal Hugolin, at the news of his death, hastened to Bologna, performed his funeral obsequies, and composed his epitaph. A history of a great number of miracles performed by means of this saint, and attested by eye-witnesses, may be read in

the Bollandists. His relics were taken up, and translated to a more honourable place in the church, with the greatest pomp and devotion, by an order of Gregory IX. in 1233, twelve years after his death. They have been since enclosed in a mausoleum, which is one of the finest monuments in Italy, and the church is one of the best-finished, whether we consider the structure, or the riches, order, taste, and beauty of the ornaments. St. Dominic was canonized by Gregory IX. in 1234.

The characteristical virtue of this saint was an eminent spirit of prayer, and the constant recollection of his soul in God ; and this practice he recommended above all others to his disciples. One of the greatest lights of his order, and of the Church, Bartholomew de Martyribus, Archbishop of Braga, addresses himself to all pastors on this subject as follows : "Woe to you, ministers of the Lord, if the source of devotion be dried up in your souls. This tender and sincere spirit of piety is the spring of living water which communicates fertility to all our virtues, and sanctifies all our exercises and actions, which, without it, are dry and barren. This is a heavenly wine which fortifies our hearts with a joy altogether divine. This is the balsam which heals our passions. It is also the tongue with which we speak to God, and without which our souls are dumb before Him. It is this that draws down upon us the heavenly dew that strengthens our hearts, and is the spiritual nourishment which enables us to labour with fruit in the vineyard of the Lord."



## SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISIUM, C.,

FOUNDER OF THE FRIAR MINORS.

A.D. 1226.

THE life of the glorious St. Francis, which was a miracle of humility, loudly condemns the wise ones of this world, to whom the sincere practice of this virtue and the imitation of the cross of Christ appear a scandal and a folly, as the cross itself did to the Jews and Gentiles. For, among Christians, they who walk enemies to the cross are strangers to the spirit of Christ, glory in vain in His name, and falsely call themselves His followers. He communicates Himself, and imparts the riches of His graces and holy love to those whose hearts are most perfectly disengaged from all earthly things, and on souls which are grounded in sincere humility and simplicity of heart, His divine Spirit rests. The blessed St. Francis was one of these happy little ones, whom God chose to enrich with spiritual knowledge and heavenly gifts of virtue. He was born at Assisium, in Umbria, in the Ecclesiastical State, in 1182. His father, Peter Bernardon, was descended of a gentleman's family originally settled at Florence, but was himself a merchant, and lived at Assisium, a town situated on the brow of a hill called Assi. The saint's mother was called Pica. Both his parents were persons of great probity. They were in good circumstances, but so taken up with their business as to neglect giving their son any tincture of learning. Their trade lying in part with the French, they made him learn that language; and from the readiness with which he acquired and spoke it he was called Francis, though the name of John had been given him at his baptism. In his youth he was too much led away with vain amusements, and was very intent on temporal gain; but he never let loose the reins of his sensual appetites, nor placed his confidence in worldly riches; and it was his custom never to refuse an alms to any poor man who asked it of him for the love of God. One day, being very busy about his affairs, he let a beggar go away without an alms; but, immediately reproaching himself with want of charity

ran after the poor man, gave him an alms, and bound himself by a vow never to refuse it to any poor man that should ask it for the love of God ; this vow he kept to his death. Francis, whilst he yet lived in the world, was meek, patient, very tractable, and liberal to the poor beyond what his circumstances seemed to allow of. Whenever he heard the love of God named, he felt in his soul an interior spiritual jubilation. His patience under two accidents which befell him contributed greatly to the improvement of his virtue. The one was that in a war between the cities of Perugia and Assisium, he, with several others, was carried away prisoner by the Perugians. This affliction he suffered a whole year with great alacrity, and comforted his companions. The second was a long and dangerous sickness, which he suffered with so great patience and piety, that by the weakness of his body his spirit gathered greater strength, and improved in the unction of the Holy Ghost and the divine gift of prayer. After his recovery, as he rode out one day in a new suit of clothes, meeting on the road a decayed gentleman then reduced to poverty and very ill clad, he was touched with compassion to the quick, and changed clothes with him. The night following, he seemed to see in his sleep a magnificent palace, filled with rich arms, all marked with the sign of the cross ; and he thought he heard one tell him that these arms belonged to him and his soldiers if they would take up the cross and fight courageously under its banner. After this he gave himself much to prayer, by which he felt in his soul a great contempt of all transitory things, and an ardent desire of selling his goods, and buying the precious jewel of the Gospel. He knew not yet how he should best do this, but he felt certain strong inspirations by which Our Lord gave him to understand that the spiritual warfare of Christ is begun by mortification and the victory over one's self. These interior motions awakened him, and inflamed him every day more and more to desire to attain to the perfect mortification of his senses and contempt of himself. Riding one day in the plains of Assisium, he met a leper whose sores were so loathsome, that at the sight of them he was struck with horror, and suddenly recoiled ; but overcoming himself, he alighted, and as the leper stretched forth his hands to receive an alms, Francis, whilst he bestowed it, kissed his sores with great tenderness.

Resolving with fresh ardour to aim at Christian perfection, he had no relish but for solitude and prayer, and besought Our Lord with great fervour to reveal to him His will. Being one day wholly absorbed in God, he seemed to behold Christ hanging upon His cross, from which vision he was so tenderly affected that he was never afterward able to remember the sufferings of Christ

without shedding many tears, and from that time he was animated with an extraordinary spirit of poverty, charity, and piety. He often visited the hospitals, served the sick, as if in them he had served Christ Himself, and kissed the ulcers of the lepers with great affection and humility. He gave to the poor sometimes part of his clothes, and sometimes money. He took a journey to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles, and finding a multitude of poor before the door of St. Peter's Church, he gave his clothes to one whom he thought to be most in need amongst them; and clothing himself with the rags of that poor man, he remained all that day in the company of those beggars, feeling an extraordinary comfort and joy in his soul. Having interiorly the cross of Christ imprinted on his heart, he endeavoured earnestly to mortify and crucify his flesh. One day as he was praying in the church of St. Damian, without the walls of Assisium, before a crucifix, he seemed to hear a voice coming from it, which said to him three times: "Francis, go and repair my house which thou seest falling." The saint seeing that church was old, and ready to fall to the ground, thought Our Lord commanded him to repair it. He therefore went home, and by an action which was only justifiable by the simplicity of his heart, and the right of a partnership with his father in trade (for he was then twenty-five years old), took a horse-load of cloth out of his father's warehouse, and sold it, with the horse, at Foligni, a town twelve miles from Assisium. The price he brought to the old poor priest of St. Damian's, desiring to stay with him. The priest consented to his staying, but would not take the money, which Francis therefore laid in a window. His father, hearing what had been done, came in a rage to St. Damian's, but was somewhat pacified upon recovering his money, which he found in the window. Francis, to shun his anger, had hid himself; but after some days spent in prayer and fasting, appeared again in the streets, though so disfigured and ill-clad, that the people pelted him, and called him madman, all which he bore with joy. Bernardon, more incensed than ever, carried him home, beat him unmercifully, put fetters on his feet, and locked him up in a chamber till his mother set him at liberty while his father was gone out. Francis returned to St. Damian's, and his father following him thither, insisted that he should either return home, or renounce before the Bishop all his share in his inheritance, and all manner of expectations from his family. The son accepted the latter condition with joy, gave his father whatever he had in his pockets, told him he was ready to undergo more blows and chains for the love of Jesus Christ, whose disciple he desired to be, and cheerfully went with his father before the Bishop of Assisium, to

make a legal renunciation of his inheritance in form. Being come into his presence, Francis, impatient of delays, while the instrument was drawing up, made the renunciation by the following action, carrying it in his fervour further than was required. He stripped himself of his clothes, and gave them to his father, saying cheerfully and meekly : "Hitherto I have called you father on earth ; but now I say with more confidence, Our Father who art in heaven, in whom I place all my hope and treasure." He renounced the world with greater pleasure than others can receive its favours, hoping now to be freed from all that which is most apt to make a division in our hearts with God, or even to drive Him quite out. The Bishop admired his fervour, covered him with his cloak, and shedding many tears, ordered some garment or other to be brought in for him. The cloak of a country labourer, a servant of the Bishop, was found next at hand. The saint received this first alms with many thanks, made a cross on the garment with chalk or mortar, and put it on. This happened in the twenty-fifth year of his age, in 1206.

Francis went out of the Bishop's palace in search of some convenient retirement, singing the divine praises along the highways. He was met by a band of robbers in a wood, who asked him who he was. He answered with confidence : "I am the herald of the great King." They beat him, and threw him into a ditch full of snow. He rejoiced to have been so treated, and went on singing the praises of God. He passed by a monastery, and there received an alms as an unknown poor man. In the city of Gubbio, one who knew him took him into his house, and gave him an entire suit of clothes, which were decent though poor and mean. These he wore two years with a girdle and shoes, and he walked with a staff in his hand like a hermit. At Gubbio he visited the hospital of lepers, and served them, washing their feet, and wiping and kissing their ulcers. For the repairs of the church of St. Damian he gathered alms, and begged in the city of Assisium, where all had known him rich. He bore with joy the raileries and contempt with which he was treated by his father, brother, and all his acquaintance, and if he found himself to blush upon receiving any confusion, he endeavoured to court and increase his disgrace, in order to humble himself the more, and to overcome all inclinations of pride in his heart. For the building of St. Damian's he himself carried stones, and served the masons, and saw that church put in good repair. Having a singular devotion to St. Peter, he next did the same for an old church which was dedicated in honour of that great apostle. After this he retired to a little church called Portiuncula, belonging to the abbey of

Benedictin monks of Subiaco, who gave it that name because it was built on a small estate or parcel of land which belonged to them. It stands in a spacious open plain, almost a mile from Assisium, and was at that time forsaken, and in a very ruinous condition. The retiredness of this place was very agreeable to St. Francis, and he was much delighted with the title which this church bore, it being dedicated in honour of our Lady of Angels; a circumstance very pleasing to him for his singular devotion to the holy angels, and to the queen of angels. Francis repaired this church in 1207, in the same manner he had done the two others; he fixed his abode by it, made it the usual place of his devotions, and received in it many heavenly favours. He had spent here two years in sighs and tears, when hearing one day those words of Christ: *Do not carry gold or silver, or a scrip for your journey, or two coats, or a staff*, read in the gospel at Mass, he desired of the priest after Mass an exposition of them, and applying them literally to himself, he gave away his money, and leaving off his shoes, staff, and leathern girdle, contented himself with one poor coat, which he girt about him with a cord. This was the habit which he gave to his friars the year following. It was the dress of the poor shepherds and country peasants in those parts. The saint added a short cloak over the shoulders, and a capuche to cover the head. St. Bonaventure, in 1260, made this capuche or mozetta a little longer to cover the breast and shoulders. Some of the very habits which the saint wore are still shown at Assisium, Florence, and other places. In this attire he exhorted the people to penance with such energy, that his words pierced the hearts of his hearers. Before his discourses he saluted the people with these words: "Our Lord give you peace," which he sometimes said he had learned by divine revelation. They express the salutation which Christ and St. Paul used. God had already favoured the saint with the gifts of prophecy and miracles. When he was begging alms to repair the church of St. Damian, he used to say: "Assist me to finish this building. Here will one day be a monastery of holy virgins, by whose good fame Our Lord will be glorified over the whole Church." This was verified in St. Clare five years after, who inserted this prophecy in her last will and testament. Before this, a man in the duchy of Spoleto was afflicted with a horrible running cancer, which had gnawn both his mouth and cheeks in a hideous manner. Having, without receiving any benefit, had recourse to all remedies that could be suggested, and made several pilgrimages to Rome for the recovery of his health, he came to St. Francis, and would have thrown himself at his feet; but the saint prevented him, and kissed his

ulcerous sore, which was instantly healed. "I know not," says St. Bonaventure, "which I ought most to admire, such a kiss or such a cure." The sufferings of our divine Redeemer were a principal object of our saint's devotions, and in his assiduous meditation on them he was not able to contain the torrents of his tears. A stranger, passing by the Portiuncula, heard his sighs, and stepping in, was astonished to see the abundance of tears in which he found him bathed, for which he reproached him as for a silly weakness. The saint answered, "I weep for the sufferings of my Lord Jesus Christ. I ought not to blush to weep publicly over the whole earth at the remembrance of this wonderful mystery." Does not a Christian die of grief and shame who feels not these sentiments of love, gratitude, and compunction in this contemplation? Only the impious can be insensible at this great spectacle. "For my part," says St. Austin to his flock, "I desire to mourn with you over it. The passion of Our Lord calls for our sighs, our tears, our supplications. Who is able to shed such abundance of tears as so great a subject deserves? Certainly no one, though a fountain was placed in his eyes. Let us consider what Christ suffered, that we may accompany Him with more vehement sighs and abundant tears." It was from the passion of Christ that St. Francis learned his perfect sentiments of Christian humility and piety.

Many began to admire the heroic and uniform virtue of this great servant of God, and some desired to be his companions and disciples. The first of these was Bernard of Quintaval, a rich tradesman of Assisium, a person of singular prudence, and of great authority in that city, which had been long directed by his counsels. Seeing the extraordinary conduct of St. Francis, he invited him to sup at his house, and had a good bed made ready for him near his own. When Bernard seemed to be fallen asleep, the servant of God arose, and falling on his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms across, repeated very slow, with abundance of tears, the whole night: *Deus meus et Omnia*—"My God and my All." The ardour with which he poured forth his soul in these words, by most fervent acts of adoration, love, praise, thanksgiving, and compunction, was admirable; and the tender and vehement manner of his prayer expressed strongly how much the divine love filled the whole capacity of his heart. Bernard secretly watched the saint all night, by the light of a lamp, saying to himself, "This man is truly a servant of God," and admiring the happiness of such a one, whose heart is entirely filled with God, and to whom the whole world is nothing. After many other proofs of the sincere and admirable sanctity of Francis, being

charmed and vanquished by his example, he begged the saint to make him his companion. Francis recommended the matter to God for some time; they both heard Mass together, and took advice that they might learn the will of God. The design being approved, Bernard sold all his effects, and divided the sum among the poor in one day. Peter of Catana, a canon of the cathedral of Assisium, desired to be admitted with him. The saint gave his habit to them both together on the 16th of August, 1209, which is called the foundation of this order, though some date it a year sooner, when the saint himself, upon hearing the Gospel read, embraced this manner of life. The third person who joined them was Giles, a person of great simplicity and virtue. They first joined St. Francis in his cell at the Portiuncula; the two first soon after he had changed his habit; upon which he went to Rome and obtained a verbal approbation of his order from Innocent IV. in the same year, 1209, a little before Otho IV. was crowned emperor at Rome, about the close of September. The saint on his return settled at Rivo Torto, near Assisium, where he inhabited with his disciples an abandoned cottage. After an excursion into the marquisate of Ancona to preach penance, he brought back his disciples to the Portiuncula. When their number was augmented to one hundred and twenty-seven, St. Francis assembling them together, spoke to them in a most pathetic manner of the kingdom of God, the contempt of the world, the renouncing their own will, and the mortification of their senses; adding, in the end of his discourse, "Fear not to appear little and contemptible, or to be called by men fools and madmen; but announce penance in simplicity, trusting in Him who overcame the world by humility: it is He that will speak to you by His Spirit. Let us take care that we do not lose the kingdom of heaven for any temporal interest, and that we never despise those who live otherwise than we do. God is their Master, as He is ours, and He can call them to Himself by other ways."

The saint composed a rule for his order consisting of the Gospel counsels of perfection, to which he added some things necessary for uniformity in their manner of life. He exhorts his brethren to manual labour, but will have them content to receive for it things necessary for life, not money. He bids them not to be ashamed to beg alms, remembering the poverty of Christ; and he forbids them to preach in any place without the Bishop's license. He carried his rule to Rome, to obtain the Pope's approbation. Innocent III., who then sat in St. Peter's chair, appeared at first averse, and many of the cardinals alleged that the orders already established ought to be reformed, but their number not multiplied;

and that the intended poverty of this new institution was impracticable. Cardinal Colonna, Bishop of Salina, pleaded in its favour that it was no more than the evangelical counsels of perfection. The Pope consulted for some time, and had the affair recommended to God. He afterward told his nephew, from whom St. Bonaventure heard it, that in a dream he saw a palm-tree growing up at his feet ; in another vision, some time after, he saw St. Francis propping up the Lateran Church, which seemed ready to fall, as he saw St. Dominic in another vision five years after. He therefore sent again for St. Francis, and approved his rule, but only by word of mouth, in 1210, and he ordained him deacon. The first design of St. Francis and his companions was to form a holy society, with no other view than that of studying most perfectly to die to themselves, that they might live only by the life of Jesus Christ, in holy solitude, having no commerce but with God ; but it pleased God afterward to inspire the zealous founder with an earnest desire of labouring to bring sinners to repentance. He deliberated with his brethren upon this subject, and they consulted God by devout prayer. The result was that St. Francis was persuaded that God had manifested His will to him by His holy inspiration during his fervent prayers, that He had called him and his brethren to preach penance to the world by word and example.

St. Francis having obtained of His Holiness an oral approbation of his institute, left Rome with his twelve disciples, and returned with them first to the valley of Spoleto, and thence to Assisium, where they lived together in a little cottage at Rivo Torto, without the gates of the town ; and they sometimes went into the country to preach. Soon after, the Benedictins of Monte Soubazo bestowed on the founder the church of the Portiuncula, upon condition that it should always continue the head church of his order. The saint refused to accept the property or dominion, but would only have the use of the place ; and in token that he held it of the monks, he sent them every year as an acknowledgment a basket of little fish called *laschi*, of which there is great plenty in a neighbouring river. The monks always sent the friars, in return, a barrel of oil. St. Francis would not suffer any dominion or property of temporal goods to be vested even in his order, or in any community or convent in it (as in other religious orders), that he might more perfectly and more affectionately say in his heart that the house in which he lived, the bread which he ate, and the poor clothes which he wore, were none of his ; and that he possessed nothing of any earthly goods, being a disciple of Him who, for our sakes, was born a stranger in an open stable, lived without a place of His own wherein to lay His head, subsisting by the charity of good people,



and died naked on a cross in the close embraces of holy poverty, in order to expiate our sins, and to cure our passions of covetousness, sensuality, pride, and ambition. The motives which recommended to St. Francis so high an esteem of holy poverty, and made him so great a lover of that virtue, were, first, the resemblance which we bear by this state to the life of our divine Redeemer, who was pleased to become voluntarily poor for us, and lived in extreme poverty from His first to His last breath in His mortal life. Secondly, the spiritual advantage which this state affords for the perfecting in our souls the habits of humility, patience, meekness, and other heroic virtues, by their repeated acts, which are exercised under the inconveniences, privations, sufferings, and humiliations which attend that condition. Thirdly, the powerful remedies which holy poverty offers for the cure of our irregular desires, especially of all inordinate love of the world; but this virtue consists not in an exterior poverty, which may be very vicious, and full of irregular desires; but in that poverty which is called holy, that is, in the spirit and love of poverty, and of its privations and humiliations, resulting from perfect motives of virtue. It is this alone which deserves the recompense promised by Christ, extirpates the passions, and is the mistress of many other virtues. The spirit and love of holy poverty our saint learned by assiduous humble meditation on the life and passion of Christ, the great book of a spiritual life; and this is the poverty which he assiduously and most earnestly recommended to his followers. When they one day asked him which of all virtues is the most agreeable to God, he answered, "Poverty is the way to salvation, the nurse of humility, and the root of perfection. Its fruits are hidden, but they multiply themselves in infinite ways." He speaks of the spirit of poverty as the root of humility and divine charity, in the same sense that some others speak of humble obedience, inasmuch as both spring from, and reciprocally entertain a sincere and cordial affection of humility. St. Francis called the spirit of holy poverty the foundation of his order, and in his habit, in everything that he used, and in all his actions he carried his affection for it to the greatest nicety. He sometimes ordered houses already built for his religious to be pulled down, because he thought them too large and sumptuous for their state of the most severe evangelical poverty. Returning once from a journey to the Portiuncula, he found a new building made there, which he judged to be too neat and commodious. He therefore insisted that it should be demolished, till the citizens of Assisium declared that they had built it for the lodgings of strangers, who must otherwise lie in the fields, and that it was in

no way intended for his order. In his rule he prescribed that the churches of his religious should be low and small, and all their other buildings of wood ; but some persons representing to him that in certain countries wood is dearer than stone, he struck out this last condition, requiring only that all their buildings should be suitable to that strict poverty which they professed. God is glorified by every spirit that is founded upon sincere motives of humility, penance, and charity ; and this saint's admirable love of holy poverty, which confounds the sensuality, pride, and avarice which reign so much among men, derogates not from the merit of their virtue who make a just and holy use of the things of this world to the glory of God, so as still to maintain a disengagement of heart, and a true spirit of poverty, compunction, penance, humility, and all other virtues, which are never perfect if any one in the whole train be wanting or imperfect.

Holy poverty was dearer to St. Francis through his extraordinary love of penance. He scarce allowed his body what was necessary to sustain life, and found out every day new ways of afflicting and mortifying it. If any part of his rough habit seemed too soft, he sewed it with pack-thread, and was wont to say to his brethren that the devils easily tempted those that wore soft garments. His bed was ordinarily the ground, or he slept sitting, and used for his bolster a piece of wood or a stone. Unless he was sick, he very rarely ate anything that was dressed with fire, and when he did he usually put ashes or water upon it ; often his nourishment was only a little coarse bread, on which he sometimes strewed ashes. He drank clear water, and that very moderately, how great thirst or heat soever he suffered. He fasted rigorously eight Lents in the year. Seculars were much edified that, to conform himself to them, he allowed his religious to eat flesh meat, which the end of his institute made necessary. He called his body brother Ass, because it was to carry burdens, to be beaten, and to eat little and coarsely. When he saw anyone idle, eating of other men's labours, he called him brother Fly, because he did no good, but spoiled the good which others did, and was troublesome to them. As a man owes a discreet charity to his own body, the saint, a few days before he died, asked pardon of his for having treated it perhaps with too great rigour, excusing himself that he had done it the better to secure and guard the purity of his soul, and for the greater service of God. Indiscreet or excessive austerities always displeased him. When a brother, by immoderate abstinence, was not able to sleep, the saint brought him some bread, and, that he might eat it with less confusion, began himself to eat with him.

The care with which he watched over himself to preserve the

virtue of purity ought not to be passed over. In the beginning of his conversion, finding himself assailed with violent temptations of concupiscence, he often cast himself into ditches full of snow. Once, under a more grievous assault than ordinary, he presently began to discipline himself sharply ; then with great fervour of spirit he went out of his cell, and rolled himself in the snow. After this, having made seven great heaps of snow, he said to himself : "Imagine these were thy wife and children ready to die of cold ; thou must, then, take great pains to maintain them," whereupon he set himself again to labour in the cold. By the vigour and fervour with which he on that occasion subdued his domestic enemy, he obtained so complete a victory, that he never felt any more assaults. Yet he continued always most wary in shunning every occasion of danger ; and, in treating with women, kept so strict a watch over his eyes, that he scarce knew any woman by sight. It was a usual saying with him, that "by occasions the strong become weak. To converse too frequently with women, and not suffer by it, is as hard as to take fire into one's bosom, and not to be burnt. What has a religious man to do," says he, "to treat with women, unless it be when he hears their confessions, or gives them necessary spiritual instructions ? He that thinks himself secure is undone ; the devil finding somewhat to take hold on, though it be but a hair, raises a dreadful war."

With extreme austerities, St. Francis joined the most profound humility of heart. He was in his own eyes the basest and most despicable of all men, and desired to be reputed such by all ; he loved contempt, and sincerely shunned honour and praise. If others commended him, and showed any esteem of his virtue, he often said to himself, "What every one is in the eyes of God, that he is, and no more." He frequently commanded some friar to revile him with reproachful language. Thus he once repeated : "O brother Francis, for thy sins thou hast deserved to be plunged into hell." And ordered brother Leo as often to reply : "It is true, you have deserved to be buried in the very bottom of hell." When he was not able to avoid the esteem of others he was overwhelmed with secret confusion. "I refer honours and praises," said he once to another, "entirely to God, to whom they are due. I take no share in them, but behold myself in the filth of my own baseness and nothingness, and sink lower and lower in it. Statues of wood or stone take nothing to themselves, and are insensible to the respect and honour which is given them, not at all on their own account, but for the sake of those whom they represent. And if men honour God in His creatures, even in me the last and

vilest among them, I consider Him alone." When he preached, he often published his own faults, that he might be despised. He was very careful to conceal the gifts of God ; and to those who seemed to express an esteem for his person, he would sometimes say : " No one can justly be praised who is not secure of himself, and whilst we know not what he will be." At other times he said : " No one can boast because he does those things which a sinner can do, as fasting, weeping, and chastising his flesh. There is one thing which no sinner does, which is if we faithfully serve the Lord, and ascribe purely to Him whatever He gives us." A certain holy friar, and companion of St. Francis, was favoured with a vision at prayer, in which he saw a bright throne prepared in heaven, and heard a voice telling him that it was for the humble Francis. After having received the vision, he asked the saint how he could with truth think and call himself the greatest sinner in the world ? To which the saint answered : " If God had bestowed on the greatest sinner the favours He has done me, he would have been more grateful than I am ; and if He had left me to myself, I should have committed greater wickedness than all other sinners." From this humility it was that he would not be ordained priest, but always remained in the degree of deacon ; he bore the greatest reverence to all priests. An effect of the same humility was his extreme love of obedience, and his often asking counsel of his lowest subjects, though he had the gift of prophecy, and was endued with an extraordinary heavenly discretion and light. In his journeys from place to place he used to promise obedience to the brother whom he took with him for his companion. He said once, that among the many favours God had done him, one was that he would as willingly and as diligently obey a novice who had lived but one hour in a religious state (if he was set over him by his warden or guardian) as he would the most ancient and discreet among the Fathers, because a subject is not to regard the person whom he obeys, but God, whose place every superior holds with regard to us. Being asked how one that is truly obedient ought to behave, he said he ought to be like a dead body. He was a great enemy to all singularity. In a certain convent of his order he was told, that one of the friars was a man of admirable virtue and so great a lover of silence, that he would only confess his faults by signs. The saint did not like it, and said, " This is not the spirit of God, but of the devil ; a foul temptation, not a divine virtue." It afterward appeared, by the misconduct of this poor religious man, by how deceitful a singularity he separated himself from the conversation of his brethren. Like instances happened on other occasions. The saint's extreme aversion to the least

shadow of dissimulation or hypocrisy appeared in his whole conduct. In the greatest sicknesses he would not allow himself the least indulgence which was not made public ; and refused to wear any clothing to cover his breast in a dangerous cold, unless it was visible to others.

This saint, who by humility and self-denial was perfectly crucified and dead to himself, seemed by the ardour of his charity to be rather a seraph incarnate than a frail man in a mortal state. Hence he seemed to live by prayer, and was assiduously employed in holy contemplation ; for he that loves much desires to converse with the person whom he loves ; in this he places his treasure and happiness, and finds no entertainment or delight like that of dwelling upon his excellencies and greatness. St. Francis retired every year, after the Feast of the Epiphany, in honour of the forty days which Christ spent in the desert, and shutting himself up in his cell, he spent all that time in rigorous fasting, and devout prayer. He communicated very often and ordinarily with ecstasies, in which his soul was rapt and suspended in God. He recited the canonical hours with great devotion and reverence, always standing with his head bare, and usually with his eyes bathed in tears, never leaning upon anything, even when he was very weak and sick. When he travelled he always stopped at the canonical hours of prayer, for the sake of greater recollection and attention ; and he used to say, that if the body, when it eats corruptible food, desires to be at rest, why should not this be granted the soul when it takes heavenly sustenance ? Out of tender devotion and reverence to the names of God and of Jesus Christ, if he found them written in any paper thrown on the ground, he took it up, and put it in some decent place. For his trial God once abandoned him to a violent desolation of soul and spiritual dryness during two months, till, by assiduous prayer, he suddenly found himself again replenished with the delights of the Holy Ghost, and His sensible presence. Though he felt a wonderful tenderness of devotion to all the mysteries of the life of our Saviour, yet he was most affected, next to those of His sacred passion, with that of His holy nativity, by reason of the poverty, cold, and nakedness in which the divine Infant made His appearance in the stable and crib at Bethlehem. One Christmas night the saint having sung the gospel at Mass, preaching to the people on the nativity of the poor King, he was not able to satiate the tender affection of his heart by repeating often with incredible sweetness His holy Name under the appellation of the Little Babe of Bethlehem. He never spoke, or heard mention made of the holy mystery of the Incarnation without feeling the most tender affection of devotion. He was par-

ticularly affected with those words: *The Word was made flesh*. He had a singular devotion to the Mother of God (whom he chose for the special patroness of his order), and in her honour he fasted from the feast of SS. Peter and Paul to that of her Assumption. After this festival he fasted forty days, and prayed much, out of devotion to the angels, especially the archangel Michael; and at All Saints he fasted other forty days. Under the name of these Lents he spent almost the whole year in fasting and prayer, though he at no time interrupted his penitential austerities and devout recollection. Notwithstanding many great troubles which the devils, both interiorly and sometimes visibly, raised to disturb him, and withdraw him from prayer, he always persevered constant in that heavenly exercise; nor were they ever able to make him interrupt his devotion. According to the measure of his great affection and tenderness for God, he was favoured by Him with the abundance of His spiritual comforts and graces. Many times being in prayer, he fell into raptures; often on the road as he travelled, he was visited by Our Lord with a ravishing inexpressible sweetness with which his soul was quite overwhelmed; and he usually made those that went with him to go before, both for the sake of closer recollection and to conceal the visits and favours of the Lord. Because he humbled himself, and his heart was disengaged from the love of all creatures, God exalted him above all others. He illuminated the understanding of His servant with a light and wisdom that is not taught in books, but comes down from heaven, and He infused into him an uncommon knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the ineffable mysteries of our divine religion. He moreover gave him the spirit of prophecy; for St. Francis foretold many things which happened a long time after. He was endowed with an extraordinary gift of tears. His eyes seemed two fountains of tears, which were almost continually falling from them, insomuch that at length he almost lost his sight. When physicians advised him to repress his tears, for otherwise he would be quite blind, the saint answered: "Brother physician, the spirit has not received the benefit of light for the flesh, but the flesh for the spirit: we ought not for the love of that sight which is common to us and flies to put an impediment to spiritual sight and celestial comfort." When the physician prescribed that, in order to drain off the humours by an issue, he should be burnt with a hot iron, the saint was very well pleased, because it was a painful operation, and a wholesome remedy. When the surgeon was about to apply the searing-iron, the saint spoke to the fire, saying: "Brother fire, I beseech thee to burn me gently, that I may be able to endure thee." He was seared

very deep, from the ear to the eyebrow, but seemed to feel no pain at all.

Whatever he did, or wherever he was, his soul was always raised to heaven, and he seemed continually to dwell with the angels. He consulted God before everything he did, and he taught his brethren to set a high value upon, and by humility, self-denial, and assiduous recollection, to endeavour to obtain the most perfect spirit of prayer, which is the source of all spiritual blessings, and without which a soul can do very little good. The practice of mental prayer was the favourite exercise which he strongly recommended. Persons who laboured under any interior weight of sadness, or spiritual dryness, he vehemently exhorted to have recourse to fervent prayer, and to keep themselves as much as possible in the presence of their heavenly Father, till He should restore them to the joy of salvation. Otherwise, said he, a disposition of sadness which comes from Babylon, that is, from the world, will gain ground, and produce a great rust in the affections of the soul, whilst she neglects to cleanse them by tears, or a spiritual desire of them. After extraordinary visits of the Holy Ghost, the saint taught men to say: "It is you, O Lord, who by your gracious goodness have vouchsafed to give this consolation to me a sinner, most unworthy of your mercy. To you I commend this favour, that you preserve its fruit in my heart; for I tremble lest by my wretchedness I should rob you of your own gift and treasure." He was accustomed to recite Our Lord's prayer very slowly, with singular gust in each petition, and in every word. The doxology, *Glory be to the Father*, etc., was a beloved aspiration of this saint, who would repeat it often together at work, and at other times, with extraordinary devotion, and he advised others to use the same. A certain lay-brother once asking him leave to study, the saint said to him, "Repeat assiduously the doxology, *Glory be to the Father*, etc., and you will become very learned in the eyes of God." The brother readily obeyed, and became a very spiritual man. St. Francis sometimes cried out in the fervour of his love, "Grant, O Lord, that the sweet violence of Thy most ardent love may disengage and separate me from everything that is under heaven, and entirely consume me, that I may die for the love of Thy infinite love. This I beg by Thyself, O Son of God, who diedst for love of me. My God and my All! who art Thou, O sweetest Lord? and who am I, Thy servant and a base worm? I desire to love Thee, most holy Lord. I have consecrated to Thee my soul and my body with all that I am. Did I know what to do more perfectly to glorify Thee, this I would most ardently do. Yes, this I most

ardently desire to accomplish, O my God." St. Francis sometimes expressed his pious breathings in canticles. St. Teresa writes: "I know a person who, without being a poet, has sometimes composed upon the spot stanzas of very exact metre, on spiritual subjects, expressing the pain which her soul felt in certain transports of divine love, and the joy with which she was overwhelmed in this sweet pain." Several among the sacred writers, under the influence of the divine inspiration, delivered the heavenly oracles in verse. St. Francis, in raptures of love, poured forth the affections of his soul and of the divine praises sometimes in animated verse. Two such canticles composed by him are still extant, and express with wonderful strength and sublimity of thought the vehemence and tenderness of divine love in his breast, in which he found no other comfort than, could it be gratified, to die for love, that he might be for ever united to the great object of his love. His thirst of the conversion of souls was most ardent. He used to say, that for this, example has much greater force than words, and that those preachers are truly to be deplored who, in their sermons, preach themselves rather than Christ, seeking their own reputation more than the salvation of souls; and much more those who pull down, by their wicked and slothful lives, what they build by their good doctrine. He prayed and wept continually for the conversion of sinners with extraordinary fervour, and recommended to his religious to do the same, saying that many sinners are converted and saved by the prayers and tears of others; and that even simple laymen, who do not preach, ought not to neglect employing this means of obtaining the divine mercy in favour of infidels and sinners. So great was the compassion and charity of this holy man for all such, that, not contenting himself with all that he did and suffered for that end in Italy, he resolved to go to preach to the Mahomedans and other infidels, with an extreme desire of laying down his life for Our Lord. With this view he embarked, in the sixth year of his conversion, for Syria, but straight there arose a tempest, which drove him on the coast of Dalmatia; and finding no convenience to pass on further, he was forced to return back again to Ancona. Afterward, in 1214, he set out for Morocco to preach to the famous Mahometan King Miramolin, and went on his way with so great fervour and desire of martyrdom, that though he was very weak and much spent, his companion was not able to hold pace with him. But it pleased God that in Spain he was detained by a grievous fit of sickness, and afterward by important business of his order, and various accidents, so that he could not possibly go into Mauritania. But he wrought several miracles in Spain, and founded there some convents, after which he returned through Languedoc into Italy.



It will be related below how, in the thirteenth year after his conversion, he passed into Syria and Egypt. In the meantime, upon motives of the same zeal, he laboured strenuously to advance the glory of God among Christians, especially in his own order. With incredible pains he ran over many towns and villages, instructing and exhorting all persons to the divine love. He often said to his brethren, especially in his last sickness, "Let us begin to serve the Lord our God, for hitherto we have made very little progress." No man in this life ever arrived at perfection; and that Christian has climbed the highest toward it who labours the most strenuously and with the most sincere humility to advance higher. St. Francis, preaching penance to all the world, used often to repeat the following words, with inimitable fervour and energy: "My love is crucified," meaning that Christ is crucified, and we ought to crucify our flesh. The holy founder out of humility gave to his order the name of Friars Minors, desiring that his brethren should be disposed in the affection of sincere humility, to strive, not for the first, but for the last and lowest places. Many cities became suitors that they might be so happy as to possess some of his disciples animated with his spirit, and St. Francis founded convents at Cortona, Arezzo, Vergoreta, Pisa, Bologna, Florence, and other places; and in less than three years his order was multiplied to sixty monasteries. In 1212 he gave his habit to St. Clare, who, under his direction, founded the institute of holy virgins, which was called the Second Order of St. Francis. He took upon himself the care of her monastery at St. Damian's, in Assisium, but would never consent that his friars should serve any other nunnery of this or any other order, in which resolution he persisted to his death, though Cardinal Hugolin, the protector of his order, was not so scrupulous in that particular. The founder carried his precaution and severity so far, in imitation of many ancient saints, the better to secure in his religious a perfect purity of heart, which a defect in any small circumstance may sometimes tarnish. All familiar or unnecessary conversation is certainly to be cut off in such stations, and by the strictest watchfulness all dangerous sparks are to be prevented. To give his brethren to understand this, when, by the authority of the protector, one of them had visited a nunnery, St. Francis ordered him to plunge into the river, and afterward to walk two miles in his wet clothes. This spirit was inherited by the holy disciple and priest whom the founder had sent with some others into Spain, and in whose favour the Princess Sancia, sister to Alfonsus II., then King of Portugal, had given her own house at Alenquer for a convent. A lady of honour, belonging to the court of that princess, desired to speak to the holy

man in the church about the affairs of her conscience, and when he refused to come, burst into tears and cries almost of despair. The holy man therefore went to her, but carried in one hand a wisp of straw and in the other a burning torch, with which he set the straw on fire as soon as he came into her presence, saying, "Though your conversation be on piety and devotion, if it be frequent, a religious man ought to dread lest it should have on his heart the same effect this fire produced in the straw. At least, he will lose by it the fruit of conversing with God in prayer." Notwithstanding the reluctancy of the holy founder, several houses of the poor Clares found means to procure, through powerful mediations, directors out of this order to be allowed them, especially after the death of St. Francis. St. Dominic being at Rome, in 1215, met there St. Francis, and these two eminent servants of God honoured each other, had frequent spiritual conferences together, and cemented a close friendship between their orders, which they desired to render perpetual, as we are informed by contemporary writers of the life of St. Dominic. Some say that St. Dominic assisted at St. Francis's chapter of Matts and some others, but this is not supported by ancient vouchers, and denied by the most judicious Dominican historians.

Ten years after the first institution of his order in 1219, St. Francis held near the Portiuncula the famous general chapter of Matts, because it was assembled in booths in the fields, being too numerous to be received in any building of the country. We are assured by four companions of St. Francis, and St. Bonaventure, that five thousand friars met there, though some remained at home who could not leave their convents. In this chapter, several of the brethren prayed St. Francis to obtain for them of the Pope a licence to preach everywhere without the leave of the bishops of each diocese. The saint, shocked at the proposal, answered, "What, my brethren, do not you know the will of God? It is that by our humility and respect we gain the superiors, that we may by words and example draw the people of God. When the bishops see that you live holily, and attempt nothing against their authority, they themselves entreat you to labour for the salvation of the souls committed to their charge. Let it be your singular privilege to have no privilege which may puff up the hearts of any with pride, or raise contests and quarrels." St. Francis had sent some of his friars into Germany in 1246, where they met with small success. Afterwards from this chapter he commissioned some into Greece, others into Africa, others into France, Spain, and England, to all whom he gave zealous instructions. He reserved for himself the mission of Syria and Egypt, in hopes of

receiving there the crown of martyrdom ; but the affairs of his order obliged him to defer his departure some time.

The orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic had been approved by word of mouth by Innocent III., who died in 1219, having sat eighteen years. Honorius III., who succeeded him, confirmed that of St. Dominic by two bulls dated the 22nd of December, 1216. St. Francis obtained of this pope an approbation of his missions ; and in 1219 set sail with B. Illuminatus of Reate and other companions from Ancona, and having touched at Cyprus, landed at Acon or Ptolemais, in Palestine. The Christian army in the sixth crusade lay at that time before Damiata in Egypt, and the Soldan of Damascus or Syria led a numerous army to the assistance of Meledin, Soldan of Egypt or Babylon, for so he was more commonly called, because he resided at Babylon in Egypt, a city on the Nile, opposite to the ruins of Memphis ; Grand Cairo rose out of the ashes of this Babylon. St. Francis with brother Illuminatus hastened to the Christian army, and upon his arrival endeavoured to dissuade them from giving the enemy battle, foretelling their defeat, as we are assured by three of his companions ; also by St. Bonaventure, Cardinal James of Vitri, who was then present in the army, and Marin Sanut. He was not heard, and the Christians were drove back into their trenches with the loss of six thousand men. However, they continued the siege, and took the city on the 5th of November the same year. In the meantime St. Francis, burning with zeal for the conversion of the Saracens, desired to pass to their camp, fearing no dangers for Christ. He was seized by the scouts of the infidels, to whom he cried out, "I am a Christian ; conduct me to your master." Being brought before the soldan, and asked by him his errand, he said with wonderful intrepidity and fervour, "I am sent, not by men, but by the most high God, to show you and your people the way of salvation, by announcing to you the truth of the Gospel." The soldan appeared to be moved, and invited him to stay with him. The man of God replied, "If you and your people will listen to the Word of God, I will with joy stay with you. If yet you waver between Christ and Mahomet, cause a great fire to be kindled, and I will go into it with your Imans" (or priests) "that you may see which is the true faith." The soldan answered that he did not believe any of their priests would be willing to go into the fire, or to suffer torments for their religion, and that he could not accept his condition for fear of a sedition. He offered him many presents, which the saint refused. After some days, the soldan, apprehending lest some should be converted by his discourse, and desert to the Christians, sent him, escorted by a strong guard, to their camp

before Damiaata, saying to him privately, "Pray for me, that God may make known to me the true religion, and conduct me to it." The soldan became from that time very favourable to the Christians, and according to some authors was baptized a little before his death.

St. Francis returned by Palestine into Italy, where he heard with joy that the five missionaries, whom he had sent to preach to the Moors, had been crowned with martyrdom in Morocco. But he had the affliction to find that Elias, whom he had left vicar-general of his order, had introduced several novelties and mitigations, and wore himself a habit of finer stuff than the rest, with a longer capuche or hood, and longer sleeves. St. Francis called such innovators bastard children of his order, and deposed Elias from his office. Resigning the generalship that year, 1220, he caused the virtuous Peter of Cortona to be chosen minister-general, and after his death, in 1221, Elias to be restored. But Peter, and after him Elias, out of respect for the saint, were only styled vicars-general till his death, who, by the sole weight of his authority, continued always to direct the government of his order so long as he lived. In 1223, he obtained of Pope Honorius III. the confirmation of the famous indulgence granted a little time before to the Church Portiuncula. His order, as has been mentioned, was verbally approved by Innocent III. in 1210; a like approbation was given it in 1215 by the fourth Lateran Council, to which St. Francis repaired for that purpose, as F. Helyot mentions, though this does not appear in the acts of that council, because it was no more than a verbal declaration. The founder, therefore, revised his rule, which breathed throughout the most profound humility, and an entire renunciation of the world, and presented it to Pope Honorius III., who confirmed it by a bull, dated the 29th of November, 1223. On which occasion the saint preached extempore, at the suggestion of the dean of the cardinals, before the Pope and the consistory of cardinals, with great dignity and energy, so as to move the whole audience to compunction.

When St. Francis returned from Spain, and laid aside the thoughts of his intended mission to Morocco in 1215, Count Orlando of Catona bestowed on him a close agreeable solitude on Mount Alverno, a part of the Apennines not very far from Camaldodi and Vale Umbrosa. This virtuous count built there a convent and a church for the Friar Minors, and St. Francis was much delighted with the retirement of that high mountain. The solitude of the valley of Fabriano also pleased him much, and he frequently hid himself there. The raptures and other extraordinary favours which he received from God in contemplation, he was careful to

conceal from men. St. Bonaventure and other writers of his life assure us, that he was frequently raised from the ground at prayer. F. Leo, his secretary and confessor, testified that he had seen him in prayer sometimes raised above the ground so high, that this disciple could only touch his feet, which he held and watered with his tears; and that sometimes he saw him raised much higher. Towards the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in 1224, St. Francis retired into a most secret place in Mount Alverno, where his companions made him a little cell. He kept Leo with him, but forbade any other person to come to him before the feast of St. Michael; it was then the Lent which he kept before the feast of that archangel, and he desired to devote himself in it entirely to the delights of heavenly contemplation. He ordered Leo to bring him a little bread and water every evening, and lay it at the entry of his cell; "And when you shall come to matins," said he, "do not come in; only say, *Domine, labia mea aperies*. If I answer, *Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*, you shall come in; otherwise you will go away again." The pious disciple was very punctual in obeying; but was often obliged to go back again, the saint being in raptures, as he did not doubt; and once when he did not answer, he saw him lying prostrate on the ground encompassed with a bright light, and heard him often repeat these words: "Who are you, O my God, and most sweet Lord? And who am I, a base worm, and your most unworthy servant?" The saint afterward told Leo that nothing gave him so perfect a knowledge and sense of his own nothingness as the contemplation of the abyss of the divine perfections; for nothing so much improves the knowledge of ourselves as the clear knowledge of God's infinite greatness and goodness, and His spotless purity and sanctity. Heavenly visions and communications of the Holy Ghost were familiar to our saint; but in this retreat on Mount Alverno, in 1224, he was favoured with extraordinary raptures, and inflamed with burning desires of heaven in a new and unusual manner. Then it was that this saint deserved, by his humility and his ardent love of his crucified Saviour, to be honoured with the extraordinary favour of the marks of His five wounds imprinted on His body by the vision of a seraph.

About the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, on the 15th day of September, Francis being in prayer on the side of the mountain, raised himself towards God with the seraphic ardour of his desires, and was transported by a tender and affective compassion of charity into Him who, out of love, was crucified for us. In this state he saw, as it were, a seraph, with six shining wings blazing with fire, bearing down from the highest part of the heavens

towards him, with a most rapid flight, and placing himself in the air near the saint. There appeared between his wings the figure of a man crucified, with his hands and feet stretched out, and fastened to the cross. The wings of the seraph were so placed, that two he stretched above his head, two others he extended to fly, and with the other two he covered his whole body. At this sight, Francis was extremely surprised; a sudden joy, mingled with sorrow, filled his heart. The familiar presence of his Lord under the figure of a seraph, who fixed on him His eyes in the most gracious and tender manner, gave him an excessive joy; but the sorrowful sight of His crucifixion pierced his soul with a sword of compassion. At the same time he understood by an interior light that, though the state of the crucifixion no way agreed with that of the immortality of the seraph, this wonderful vision was manifested to him that he might understand he was not to be transformed into a resemblance with Jesus Christ crucified by the martyrdom of the flesh, but in his heart and by the fire of his love. After a secret and intimate conversation, the vision disappearing, his soul remained interiorly inflamed with a seraphic ardour, and his body appeared exteriorly to have received the image of the crucifix, as if his flesh, like soft wax, had received the mark of a seal impressed upon it. For the marks of nails began to appear in his feet and hands, resembling those he had seen in the vision of the man crucified. His hands and feet seemed bored through in the middle with four wounds, and these holes appeared to be pierced with nails or hard flesh; the heads were round and black, and were seen in the palms of his hands, and in his feet in the upper part of the instep. The points were long, and appeared beyond the skin on the other side, and were turned back as if they had been clenched with a hammer. There was also in his right side a red wound, as if made by the piercing of a lance; and this often threw out blood, which stained the tunic and drawers of the saint. This relation is taken from Bonaventure, who (chap. 13) calls the wound on the side a scar; but means not a scar covered, but a wound left visible and open; for he calls it (chap. 14) a wound and a hole in his side; and such he again describes it as seen after the saint's death (chap. 15). The circumstance of its often bleeding confirms the same, which does not agree to a wound that is healed and covered, or to a callous scar raised after the healing of a wound, as Baillet, with many other mistakes, pretends this to have been. This wonderful miracle was performed whilst the saint's understanding was filled with the strongest ideas of Christ crucified, and his love employed in the utmost strength of its will in entertaining its affections on that great object, and assimilating them to

his beloved in that suffering state, so that in the imaginative faculty of his soul he seemed to form a second crucifix, with which impression it acted upon, and strongly affected the body. To produce the exterior marks of the wounds in the flesh, which the interior love of his burning heart was not able to do, the fiery seraph, or rather Christ Himself, in that vision (by darting bright piercing rays from His wounds represented in the vision) really formed them exteriorly in him, which love had interiorly imprinted on his soul, as St. Francis of Sales explains it.

St. Francis endeavoured nothing more than to conceal this singular favour of Heaven from the eyes of men, and for this purpose he ever after covered his hands with his habit, and wore shoes and the feet of stockings on his feet. Yet having first asked the advice of brother Illuminatus and others, by their counsel he with fear disclosed to them this wonderful vision, but added that several things had been manifested to him in it which he never would discover to any one, secrets, says St. Bonaventure, which perhaps could not be expressed by words, or which men, who are not supernaturally enlightened, are not capable of understanding. Notwithstanding the precautions of the saint, these miraculous wounds were seen by several during the two years which he survived, from 1224 to 1226, and by great multitudes after his death. The account of them the vicar-general of his order published in a circular letter addressed to all his brethren, immediately after St. Francis's death, the original copy of which was seen by Wadding. Luke of Toy, bishop of that city in Spain, published his work against the Albigenses in 1231, in which he tells us that he went to Assisium the year after the saint's death, and that this vision was attested to him by many religious men and seculars, clergymen and laymen, who had seen these nails of flesh in the saint's hands and feet, and the wound in his side, and with their hands had felt them. He infers from them that Christ was fastened on the Cross with four nails, and that it was His right side which was opened with the lance. He confirms this wonderful miracle from the life of the saint written by F. Thomas de Celano, a disciple and companion of the saint, by the order of Pope Gregory IX., from which work St. Bonaventure took his relation. When some in Bohemia called it in question, Pope Gregory IX. rebuked them by a bull in 1237, attesting the truth of those miraculous wounds upon his own certain knowledge and that of his cardinals. The same he affirms in two letters recited by Wadding and Chalippe; and says these wounds, after his death, were publicly shown to every one. Pope Alexander IV., in a sermon to the people in 1255, declared that he had been

himself an eye-witness of these wounds in the body of the saint whilst he was yet living. St. Bonaventure, who with other friars was present at this discourse, heard this authentic declaration made by His Holiness. That pope assures the same in a bull in 1225, addressed to the whole Church. St. Bonaventure, who wrote his life in 1261, and who had lived long with the most familiar disciples of the servant of God, says that whilst the saint was alive, many of his brethren and several cardinals saw the marks of the nails in his hands and feet ; some also, by secret artifices, found the means to see and feel the wound in his side. After his death, every one openly saw it and the other four wounds. Fifty friars, St. Clare and all her sisters, and an innumerable multitude of seculars, saw and kissed them ; and some, for greater certainty, touched them with their hands. St. Bonaventure relates many miracles, and a vision of St. Francis to Pope Gregory IX., by which the truth of these miraculous wounds was confirmed. In honour of this miracle, and to excite in the hearts of the faithful a more ardent love of our crucified Saviour, and devotion to His sacred passion, Pope Benedict, in 1304, instituted a festival and office in memory of them, which were extended to the whole Church by Sixtus IV. in 1475, Sixtus V. and Paul V. in 1615, the 17th of September being the day chosen for this annual commemoration. The ancient church of St. Francis on Mount Alverno, with another new one more spacious, and a large convent, are places of great devotion on account of this miracle, and enjoy great privileges by the grants of several popes and emperors.

It appears manifest that this wonderful favour was in part a recompense of the great love which St. Francis bore to the Cross of Christ. From the beginning of his conversion his heart was so inflamed with this divine love, that the sufferings of his Saviour almost continually filled his thoughts, in which meditation sighs and tears frequently expressed the sentiments of his soul. It was to render himself more perfectly conformed to his crucified Jesus that he with greater fervour stript himself of everything, made of his body a victim of penance, and thrice sought an opportunity of giving his life for Christ by martyrdom. This adorable object was all his science, all his glory, all his joy, all his comfort in this world. To soothe the sharp pains of a violent distemper, he was one day desired to let some one read a book to him ; but he answered, "Nothing gives me so much delight as to think on the life and passion of Our Lord ; I continually employ my mind on this object, and were I to live to the end of the world, I should stand in need of no other books." In the school of his crucified Lord he learned so vehement a love of holy



poverty, that meeting one day a beggar almost naked, he with sighs said to his companion, "Here is a poor man, whose condition is a reproach to us. We have chosen poverty to be our riches, yet in it he outdoes us." He called poverty his lady, his queen, his mother, and his spouse, and earnestly begged it of God as his portion and privilege. "O Jesus," said he, "who was pleased to embrace extreme poverty, the grace I beg of you is, that you bestow on me the privilege of poverty. It is my most ardent desire to be enriched with this treasure. This I ask for me and mine, that for the glory of Thy holy Name we may possess anything under heaven, and receive our subsistence itself from the charity of others, and be in this also very sparing and moderate." He extended his rule of poverty to what is interior and spiritual, fearing lest any one among his friars should regard his science as his own property and fund, for so it feeds self-love, and produces inordinate complacency in itself, and secret attachments very contrary to that entire disengagement of the heart which opens it to the divine grace. The saint indeed exhorted those that were best qualified to apply themselves to sacred studies, but always with this caution, that they still spent more time in prayer, and studied not so much how to speak to others, as how to preach to themselves, and how to practise virtue. Studies which feed vanity rather than piety he abhorred, because they utterly extinguish charity and devotion, and drain and puff up the heart. Humiliations, reproaches, and sufferings, he called the true gain, and the most perfect joy of a religious man, especially of a friar minor, who, according to this saint, ought to be, not so much in name as in spirit, the lowest among men.

St. Francis came down from Mount Alverno, bearing in his flesh the marks of the sacred wounds, and more inflamed than ever with the seraphic ardours of divine charity. The two years that he survived his heavenly vision seemed a martyrdom of love. He was, moreover, much afflicted in them with sickness, weakness, and pains in his eyes. In this suffering state he used often to repeat, that the most rigorous appointments of Providence are often the most tender effects of the divine mercy in our favour. In 1225, his distemper growing dangerous, Cardinal Hugolin and the vicar-general Elias obliged him to put himself in the hands of the most able surgeons and physicians of Rieti, wherein he complied with great simplicity. In his sickness he scarce allowed himself any intermission from prayer, and would not check his tears, though the physician thought it necessary for the preservation of his sight, which he entirely lost on his death-bed. Under violent pains, when another exhorted him to beg of God to

mitigate them, notwithstanding his extreme weakness, he arose, and falling on the ground, and kissing it, prayed as follows: "O Lord, I return Thee thanks for the pains which I suffer; I pray that Thou add to them a hundred times more, if such be Thy holy will. I shall rejoice that Thou art pleased to afflict me without sparing my carcase here; for what sweeter comfort can I have, than that Thy holy will be done!" He foretold his death long before it happened, both to several of his brethren, and in a letter which he dictated on Sunday, the 28th of September, to a pious lady of Rome, his great friend. The saint earnestly requested that he might be buried at the common place of execution, among the bodies of the malefactors, on a hill then without the walls of Assisium, called Colle d'Inferno. St. Francis, a little before his death, dictated his testament to his religious brethren, in which he recommends to them, that they always honour the priests and pastors of the Church as their masters, that they faithfully observe their rule, and that they work with their hands, not out of a desire of gain, but for the sake of good example, and to avoid idleness. "If we receive nothing for our work," says he, "let us have recourse to the table of the Lord, the begging alms from door to door." He orders, that they who do not know how to work learn some trade. Pope Nicholas III. declared, that this precept of manual labour does not regard those who are in Holy Orders, and are employed in preaching and in other spiritual functions, which is clear from the rule itself, the example of St. Francis, and the apology wrote by St. Bonaventure. Having finished his testament, the saint desired a spiritual song of thanksgiving to God for all His creatures, which he had composed, to be sung. Then he insisted upon being laid on the ground, and covered with an old habit, which the guardian gave him. In this posture he exhorted his brethren to the love of God, holy poverty, and patience, and gave his last blessing to all his disciples, the absent as well as those that were present, in the following words: "Farewell, my children; remain always in the fear of the Lord. That temptation and tribulation which is to come is now at hand, and happy shall they be who shall persevere in the good they have begun. I hasten to go to Our Lord, to whose grace I recommend you." He then caused the history of the passion of our Lord in the Gospel of St. John to be read, after which he began to recite the 141st Psalm: "*I have cried with my voice to the Lord,*" etc. Having repeated the last verse: "*Bring my soul out of prison, that I may praise Thy name; the just wait for me till Thou reward me,*" he yielded up his soul on the 4th October, 1226, the twentieth after his conversion, and the forty-fifth of his age, as De Calano assures us. Great

multitudes flocked to see and kiss the prints of the sacred wounds in his flesh, which were openly shown to all persons. A certain man of rank, named Jerom, doubted of the reality of these miraculous wounds till he had touched and examined them with his hands, and moved the nails of flesh backwards and forwards, by which he was so evidently convinced, that he confirmed by a solemn oath his attestation of them, as St. Bonaventure mentions. The next morning, which was Sunday, the saint's body was carried with a numerous and pompous procession from the convent of the Portiuncula to Assisium. The procession stopped at St. Damian's, where St. Clare and her nuns had the comfort of kissing the marks of the wounds in his flesh. St. Clare attempted to take out one of the nails of flesh, but could not, though the black head was protuberant above the palm of the hand, and she easily thrust it up and down, and dipped a linen cloth in the blood which issued out. The body was carried thence, and buried at St. George's. Pope Honorius III. dying in 1227, Cardinal Hugolin was chosen pope the same year, and took the name of Gregory IX. Two years after the saint's death, this pope went to Assisium, and after a rigorous examination and solemn approbation of several miraculous cures wrought through the merits of St. Francis, he performed the ceremony of his canonization in the church of St. George, on the 16th of July, 1228, and commanded his office to be kept in 1229. His Holiness gave a sum of money for building a new church on the place which he would have called from that time Colle del Paradiso. Elias, the general, by contributions and exactions, much increased the sum, and raised a most magnificent pile, which was finished in 1230, and that year the body of the saint was translated thither on the 25th of May. Pope Gregory IX. came again to Assisium, in 1235. But the ceremony of the dedication of this church was not performed by him, as some mistake, but by Pope Innocent IV., in 1253, when he passed the summer in this convent, as is related at length by Nicolas de Curbio, a Franciscan, that pope's confessarius and sacristan, in his life. Pope Benedict XIV., in 1754, by a prolix, most honourable bull confirms the most ample privileges granted to this church by former popes, and declares it a patriarchal church and a papal chapel with apostolic penitentiaries. The body of the saint still lies in this church, and it is said under a sumptuous chapel of marble, curiously wrought, standing in the middle of this spacious church, which is dedicated in honour of St. Francis. In the sacristy, among many other relics, were shown, in 1745, some of the writings of St. Francis, and also of St. Bonaventure. Over this church is a second, adorned with rich paintings, dedicated in honour of the

twelve apostles. We are told there is a third subterraneous church under it, like that under St. Peter's on the Vatican hill, made in vaults ; but that of St. Francis is not open. The body of St. Francis has never been discovered or visited since the time of Gregory IX., and was concealed in some secret vault, for the better securing so precious a treasure. In this patriarchal convent the general of the Conventual Franciscans resides.

Who can consider the wonderful examples of St. Francis, and not cry out with our Redeemer : *I confess to Thee, eternal Father, Lord and King of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to the little ones. Thus it is, O Father, because it is pleasing in Thy eyes.* Thou resistest the proud, and hast dismissed them empty ; but Thou givest grace to the humble, taking pleasure to communicate Thyself to those that are simple of heart, Thy little ones, whose hearts are disengaged from earthly things. Thou art truly a hidden God, who dwellest in inaccessible light unknown to the world ; but Thou impartest Thyself abundantly and lovingly to those who, having purified their souls from the spots of earthly filth and attachments, express and show forth in their hearts and bodies Jesus Christ crucified. Yes, Father, so it hath pleased Thee. This interior crucifixion of the heart, this perfect simplicity and disengagement of the affections, consists not in the exterior renunciation of the world (which is indeed often a help to it, or its effect), but in the spirit, and is compatible with the state and employments of every lawful condition in the world, as many saints have shown, who, on thrones, in courts, or armies, learned to die to the world and themselves, used the things of this world as stewards only, and as if they used them not, living as strangers and pilgrims on earth.

## SAINT FRANCIS BORGIA, C.

A.D. 1572.

MANY Christians seem afraid of following Jesus Christ with their whole hearts, and live as if they were compounding with God and the world. These persons have a very false idea of virtue, which they measure only by their want of courage. If they once opened their hearts to the divine grace, and were sincerely resolved to spare nothing that they might learn to die to themselves, and to put on the spirit of Christ, they would find all their pretended difficulties to be only shadows; for, by the omnipotent power of grace, the roughest deserts are changed into smooth and agreeable paths under the feet of the just man. This St. Francis Borgia experienced both in a private life in the world, at court, in a religious retirement, and in the functions of an apostolic life. St. Francis Borgia, fourth duke of Gandia, and third general of the Jesuits, was son to John Borgia, Duke of Gandia, and grandee of Spain, and of Joanna of Arragon, daughter of Alphonso, natural son to Ferdinand V., King of Arragon, who was also regent of Castile for his daughter Joanne, and his grandson Charles, afterward emperor. Ferdinand, who, by taking Granada in 1491, had put an end to the reign of the Moors in Spain, and by marrying Isabel, the heiress of Castile, united that whole monarchy in his family, was great-grandfather to our saint. The family of Borgia, or Borja, had long flourished in Spain; but received a new lustre by the exaltation of Cardinal Alphonso Borgia to the pontificate, under the name of Calixtus III., in 1455. St. Francis was born in 1510, at Gandia, a town which was the chief seat of the family, in the kingdom of Valencia. His pious mother had a great devotion to St. Francis of Assisium, and in the pangs of a dangerous labour made a vow, that if she brought forth a son, he should be called Francis. As soon as he began to speak, his parents taught him to pronounce the holy names of Jesus and Mary, which he used often to repeat with wonderful seriousness. At five years of age he recited every day on his knees the chief parts of the Catechism. All his diversion was to set up pious pictures, make little

altars, imitate the ceremonies of the Church, and teach them to the little boys who were his pages. From the cradle he was mild, modest, patient, and affable to all. The noble sentiments of gratitude and generosity which he then began to discover were certain presages of an innate greatness of soul; the former being inseparable from a goodness of heart, and the latter, when regulated by prudence and charity, being the greatest virtue of a prince, who is raised above others only that he may govern, and do good to mankind.

Francis, at seven years of age, could read his mother tongue, and the Latin office of the Blessed Virgin very distinctly. His father, therefore, thought it time for him to learn writing and grammar, for which purpose he appointed him a preceptor of known prudence, learning, and piety, who was called Doctor Ferdinand. At the same time he was furnished with a governor, whose business it was at different hours to fashion the young prince to the exercises that were suitable to his birth, in proportion as his age was capable of them. It was the first care of the parents, in the choice of the masters whom they placed about their son, that they were persons of uncommon piety, whose example might be a continual lesson of virtue, and whose instructions should all ultimately tend to the grafting in his mind true sentiments of morality and religion, without which all other accomplishments lose their value. Learning, good breeding, and other such qualifications, are useful and necessary instructions and helps; but these never make the man: every one is properly only such as the principles and maxims are by which he is governed. It is by these that a man's life is guided; if they are false or depraved, his understanding is deprived of the light of truth, his heart is corrupted, and it is impossible he should not go astray, and fall headlong down the precipices which the world and his passions prepare for him. It is therefore the first duty of every parent and master to study, by every means, to cure the passions of a youth, to begin this by repressing their exterior effects, and removing all occasions and incentives, then to instil into his mind the strongest antidotes, by which he may be enabled and encouraged to expel their poison; and for this task no age is too early or tender; for if the mind has once taken any wrong bent, it becomes infinitely more painful and difficult to redress it. Opportunities are also to be taken in all studies of seasonably and strongly inculcating short lessons of religion, and all virtues. By this means their seeds are to be sown in such a manner in a tender heart, that they may shoot deep roots, and gather such strength as to be proof against all storms. Our saint was blessed by God with such dispositions to virtue, and so

good a capacity for his studies, that in all these parts of his education his masters found this task both agreeable and easy. Before he was ten years old he began to take wonderful delight in hearing sermons, and spent much time in devotion, being tenderly affected to the passion of our divine Redeemer, which he honoured with certain daily exercises. In his tenth year, his pious mother fell dangerously ill, on which occasion Francis, shutting himself up in his chamber, prayed for her with abundance of tears, and after his devotions, took a sharp discipline a long time together. This was the first time he used that practice of mortification which he afterward frequently made part of his penance. It pleased God that the Duchess died of that distemper in 1520. This loss cost Francis many tears, though he moderated his grief by his entire resignation to the divine will. Her pious counsels had always been to him a great spur to virtue; and he took care never to forget them.

At that time Spain was filled with tumults and insurrections of the common people against the regency. The rebels taking their advantage of the absence of the young king, Charles V. (who was then in Germany, where he had been chosen emperor), plundered the houses of the nobility in the kingdom of Valencia, and made themselves masters of the town of Gandia. The Duke fled with his whole family. Going to Saragossa, he left his son Francis, then twelve years old, under the care of the Archbishop, John of Arragon, who was his uncle, being brother to his deceased mother. The Archbishop made up a household for his nephew, and provided him with masters in grammar, music, and fencing, which he had begun to learn at Gandia. The young nobleman laboured at the same time to improve daily in grace and in every virtue. Two sermons which he heard an Hieronymite friar, who was his confessor, and a learned and spiritual man, preach, one on the last judgment, the other on the passion of Christ, made strong impressions on his mind, so that he remained ever after exceedingly terrified at the consideration of the divine judgments, and, on the other side, conceived an ardent desire to lay down his life for the love of his divine Redeemer, who died for him. Going to Baëza to see his great-grandmother, Donna Maria de Luna, wife of Don Henriquez, uncle and master of the household to King Ferdinand, and great commander of Leon, with several other relations, he was confined there six months by a grievous fit of illness, during which time he gave great proofs of admirable patience and humility. From Baëza he was sent to Tordesillas, to be taken into the family and service of the infanta Catharine, sister to Charles V., who was soon after to be married to John III. King of Portugal. The marriage was accomplished in 1525; but when the infanta went

into Portugal, the Duke of Gandia, who had greater views for his son in Spain, recalled him, and engaged the Archbishop of Saragossa to reassume the care of his education.

Francis was then fifteen years old, and after he had finished rhetoric, studied philosophy two years under an excellent master with extraordinary diligence and applause. Many so learn these sciences as to put on in their thoughts and expressions a scholastic garb, which they cannot lay aside, so that their minds may be said to be cast in Gothic moulds. Hence it is become a proverb, that nothing is more horrid than a mere scholar, that is, a pedant, who appears in the world to have reaped from his studies scarce any other advantage than to be rendered by them absolutely unfit for civilized society. Nothing contributes more to improve all the faculties of the human mind than a well-regulated and well-digested course of studies, especially of the polite arts and philosophy; but then these must be polished by a genteel address and expression, by great sentiments of modesty and generosity, by a fine carriage suitable to a person's rank, and by sincere Christian virtue. The prudent Archbishop was solicitous to procure his nephew all these advantages. He was particularly careful to make his pupil active and laborious, by seeing that he went from one employment to another, without leaving any void or unprofitable time between them; nor did his masters fix the end of their instructions in the letter of his studies; but made use of everything in them to frame his judgment, and form in him true taste; and they taught him to refer everything to virtue. This seemed the natural bent of the young nobleman's soul, and in the eighteenth year of his age he had strong inclinations to a religious state. The devil raised up instruments to second his attack, and assailed the servant of God with most violent temptations of impurity, in order to profane that pure soul which God had consecrated to Himself. Francis opposed to this dangerous enemy very frequent confession, fervent prayer, reading pious books, mortification, humility, distrust in himself, and a firm confidence in God, whose mercy alone bestows the inestimable gift of chastity, and to whom this glorious victory belongs. By these means the saint triumphed over his passion, and had preserved his virginal purity unspotted, when Providence fixed him in the holy state of marriage. His father and uncle, to divert his thoughts from a religious life, removed him from Saragossa to the court of Charles V. in 1528, where they hoped his thoughts would take a different turn. The ripeness of his judgment and prudence was such as seldom appears in a more advanced age; and by his virtue, and his unaffected obsequiousness and assiduity in serving his prince, he could not fail of gaining a high place in his



favour. Francis had a heart not insensible to the motives of such an honour, and full of tender sentiments of gratitude and generosity ; but still more of those of religion. He considered his duty to his prince as his duty to God ; and though he willingly accepted of every mark of his prince's regard for him, he was very solicitous in all things to refer himself, his actions, and whatever he received from God, purely to the divine honour. The perfect sanctification of his own soul was his great and constant aim in all he did. As religious exercises themselves, without regularity, can never be steady, and without this advantage lose a considerable part of their lustre and merit, Francis was extremely exact in regulating both his personal devoirs, and the principal duties of his family. In it hours were appointed for every one to go every day to Mass, for evening prayers, for pious reading, and meals. He heard sermons as often as possible, and conversed much with pious persons, went to confession almost every Sunday, and on all great festivals. It was also a part of his care that his whole family should spend well those days which are particularly set apart for the divine service. It is indeed from the manner in which a Christian employs them that we may form an idea of his conduct with regard to his general practice and sense of religion.

St. Francis, though he delighted chiefly in the company of the most virtuous, was courteous and obliging to all, never spoke ill of anyone, nor ever suffered others to do it in his presence. He was a stranger to envy, ambition, gallantry, luxury, and gaming, vices which were often too fashionable in courts, and against which he armed himself with the utmost precaution. He not only never played, but would never see others play, saying that a man commonly loses by it four things, his money, his time, the devotion of his heart to God, and his conscience. One of his servants discovered that on the days on which he was obliged to visit company in which ladies made a part, he wore a hair-shirt. In him it appeared that there is no readier way to gain the esteem of men, though without seeking it, than by the heroic practice of Christian virtue. Nothing is so contemptible even amongst men of the world, as insolence, pride, injustice, or anger ; nothing so hateful as one who loves nobody but himself, refers everything to himself, and makes himself the centre of all his desires and actions. Nor is there anything more amiable than a man who seeks not himself, but refers himself to God, and seeks and does all things for God, and the service of others, in which Christian piety consists. The wicked themselves find no more solid comfort or protection in affliction than the friendship of such a person ; even those who persecute him, because his virtue is a censure of their irregularities,

nevertheless admire in their breasts that sincere piety which condemns them. This is more conspicuous when such a virtue shines forth in an exalted station. It is not therefore to be wondered that Francis was honoured and beloved by all the court, particularly by the Emperor, who called him the miracle of princes.

The Empress had so great an esteem for him, and so high an idea of his merit, that she fixed her eye on him to marry Eleanor de Castro, a Portuguese lady of the first rank, a person of great piety and accomplishments, her principal favourite, who had been educated with her, and whom she had brought with her out of Portugal. The Emperor was well pleased with the proposal, and concluded a treaty with the Duke of Gandia for his son's marriage. The great qualities and virtue of the lady and his deference for the Emperor and his father did not allow Francis long to deliberate upon so advantageous an offer which opened to him a road to the highest favours of the court. The marriage was solemnized in the most Christian manner, to which state the saint brought the best preparation, innocence of life with unsullied purity, and an ardent spirit of religion and devotion. The Emperor on that occasion created him Marquis of Lombay, and master of the horse to the Empress, and having had experience of his wisdom, secrecy, and fidelity, not only admitted him into his privy council, but took great delight in conferring often privately with him upon his most difficult undertakings. The Marquis, to rid himself of the importunities of those who followed more dangerous diversions, spent some of his time in music, played on several instruments, and sung very well; he also set poetical pieces to music, and composed cantatas which were sung in some churches in Spain, and called the compositions of the Duke of Gandia. But he never could bear any profane songs. It was to please the Emperor, who was fond of hawking, that he first followed that diversion, always in his majesty's company; he was afterward very expert, and took much delight in it. He sometimes mentioned the aspirations with which he entertained his soul on those occasions, sometimes admiring and adoring the Creator in the instinct of a bird or beast, or in the beauty of the fields and heavens; sometimes considering the obedience and docility of a bird, and the disobedience of man to God; the gratitude of a wild and fierce beast or bird, which being furnished with a little food, forgets its natural ferocity, and is made tame, yet man is ungrateful to God, from whom he receives all things; the hawk soars to heaven as soon as its pinion is at liberty, yet man's soul grovels on the earth. In such-like reflections and self-reproaches the pious Marquis was often much affected and confounded within himself, and to pursue his pious

meditations he often left the company to hide himself in some thicket. The Emperor studied mathematics, and Francis made use of the same master to learn those sciences, especially the branches which are most useful for fortifying towns, and the whole military art, on which subjects his majesty frequently conversed with him. The Emperor made him his companion in his expedition into Africa against Barbarossa in 1535, and in another which he undertook against France into Provence in 1536, whence he despatched him to the Empress to carry her news of his health and affairs.

Under a violent fever with which the Marquis was seized in 1535, he made a resolution to employ for his ordinary reading no other books but those of piety, especially devout instructions, the *Lives of Saints*, and the Holy Scripture, particularly the New Testament, with a good commentator, in reading which he often shut his book to meditate on what he had read. In 1537, being at the court, which was then at Segovia, he fell sick of a dangerous quinsy, in which he never ceased praying in his heart, though he was not able to pronounce the words. These accidents were divine graces which weaned Francis daily more and more from the world, though, whilst it smiled upon him, he saw the treachery, the shortness, and the dangers of its flattering enjoyments, through that gaudy flash in which it danced before his eyes. Others receive the like frequent admonitions, but soon drown them in the hurry of pleasures or temporal affairs in which they plunge their hearts. But none of those calls were lost on Francis. His life at court had always appeared a model of virtue. But as he had not yet learned perfectly to die to himself, a mixture of the world found still a place in his heart, and his virtues were very imperfect. He even feared and bitterly accused himself that he had sometime in his life been betrayed into mortal sin. But God was pleased to call him perfectly to His service. In 1537 died his grandmother, Donna Maria Henriquez, called in religion Mary Gabriel; she was cousin-german to King Ferdinand, and married John Borgia, the second Duke of Gandia. By his sudden death she remained a widow at nineteen years of age, having had by him two children, John, our saint's father, and Isabel, who became a Poor Clare at Gandia, who was afterward chosen abbess of that house, and was eminent for her extraordinary devotion, and love of extreme poverty and penance. Mary, her mother, after having brought up and married her son, and seen the birth of our saint, entered the same austere order, in the thirty-fourth year of her age. The physicians declared, that if she embraced so severe a manner of life, she could not live one year; nevertheless, she survived in it thirty-three years, living

the most perfect model of humility, poverty, recollection, and penance, under obedience to her own daughter, who was abbess of that monastery. She met death with so much joy, that in her agony she desired a *Te Deum* might be sung as soon as she should have expired, in thanksgiving for her happy passage from this world to God. The Marquis used afterward to say, that from the time that his grandmother went to heaven he found his soul animated with new strength and courage to devote himself most perfectly to the divine service. God blessed his marriage with a numerous and happy offspring, five boys and three girls: Charles the eldest, who was Duke of Gandia when Ribadeneira wrote the life of our saint; Isabel, John, Alvarez, Johanna, Fernandez, Dorothy, and Alphonsus. Dorothy died young a Poor Clare at Gandia; the rest all married, enjoyed different titles and posts of honour, and left families behind them.

St. Francis was much affected at the death of his intimate friend, the famous poet, Garcilas de Vega, who was killed at the siege of a castle in Provence, in 1537. The death of the pious Empress Isabel happened two years after, on the 1st of May, 1539, whilst the Emperor was holding the states of Castile at Toledo with the utmost pomp and magnificence. His majesty was much afflicted for the loss of so virtuous a consort. The Marquis and Marchioness of Lombay were commissioned by him to attend her corpse to Granada, where she was to be buried. When the funeral convoy arrived at Granada, and the Marquis delivered the corpse into the hands of the magistrates of that city, they were on both sides to make oath that it was the body of the late Empress. The coffin of lead was therefore opened, and her face was uncovered, but appeared so hideous and so much disfigured, that no one knew it, and the stench was so noisome that everybody made what haste he could away. Francis not knowing the face, would only swear it was the body of the Empress because, from the care he had taken, he was sure nobody could have changed it upon the road. Being exceedingly struck at this spectacle, he repeated to himself: "What is now become of those eyes, once so sparkling? Where are now the beauty and graceful air of that countenance, which we so lately beheld? Are you her sacred majesty, Donna Isabel? Are you my empress, and my lady, my mistress?" The impression which this spectacle made on his soul remained strong and lively during the thirty-three years that he survived it, to his last breath. Returning that evening from the royal chapel to his lodgings, he locked himself up in his chamber, and passed the whole night without a wink of sleep. Prostrate on the floor, shedding a torrent of tears, he said to himself, "What is it, my soul, that I seek in

the world? How long shall I pursue and grasp at shadows? What is she already become who was lately so beautiful, so great, so much revered? This Death, which has thus treated the imperial diadem, has already levelled his bow to strike me. Is it not prudent to prevent its stroke, by dying now to the world, that at my death I may live to God?" He earnestly conjured his divine Redeemer to enlighten his soul, to draw him out of the abyss of his miseries, and to assist him by His all-powerful grace, that with his whole heart he might serve that Master whom death could not rob him of. The next day, after the divine office and Mass in the great church, the celebrated and holy preacher, John of Avila, made the funeral sermon, in which, with a divine unction and energy, he set forth the vanity and deceitfulness of all the short-lived enjoyments of this world, false and empty in themselves, and which entirely vanish when death cuts the thread of our life, and overturns at once all those castles which our foolish imagination has raised in the air. He then spoke of the eternal glory or misery which follows death, and of the astonishing madness of those who in this moment of life neglect to secure what is to them of such infinite importance. This discourse completed the entire conversion of the Marquis, who, that afternoon, sent for the preacher, laid open to him the situation of his soul, and his desires of bidding adieu to the world. The holy director confirmed him in his resolution of quitting the court, where a soul is always exposed to many snares, and of entering upon a new course of serving God with the utmost fervour. Francis determined upon the spot to forsake the court, and soon after made a vow to embrace a religious state of life if he should survive his consort.

At his return to Toledo the Emperor made him viceroy of Catalonia, and created him knight and commander of the Order of St. James or of the Red Cross, the most honourable in Spain. Barcelona was the residence of his government; and no sooner had he taken possession of his post but he changed the whole face of the province. The highways were cleared of robbers; against their bands the viceroy marched in person, and caused the criminals to be rigorously executed, having first provided them with the best spiritual assistance to prepare them for their punishment and death. He carefully watched the judges, obliging them to administer justice impartially, and to despatch lawsuits with all reasonable expedition. He set up, in all parts of the province, schools and seminaries for youth, and assisted debtors and all distressed persons with extraordinary charities. The great duties of his charge, to which he applied himself with unwearied diligence, and which made him at once the judge, the father, and the

protector of a numerous people, were no impediments to his exercises of religion. Four or five hours together were devoted by him to mental and vocal prayer every morning as soon as he rose, without any prejudice to public affairs or neglect of his family. He added to every hour of the divine office, which he said every day, a meditation on a station of our Saviour's passion, so as to accompany Him every day through all its parts, from the garden to the sepulchre. He performed daily devotions to our Lady, in which he meditated on the principal mysteries and virtues of her life. At the times in which he gave audience or applied himself to business, he had God always present to his mind. When he was obliged to assist at public entertainments or diversions, his mind was usually so absorbed in God that if he was afterward asked about them, he could give no account of what had passed or been said at them. Tears of devotion often gushed from his eyes, even in the midst of business, and he would sometimes thus address himself to God: "Who could ever soften this heart of mine, which is harder than flint or adamant, but you alone, O Lord! you, O God of mercies! who could draw fountains of water from a rock, and raise up sons of Abraham out of stones, could change a stony heart into one of flesh?" His austerities were excessive. He entirely laid aside suppers that he might employ that time in prayer. Having passed two Lents without taking any other sustenance than once a day a mess of leeks, or some pulse with a piece of bread, and a cup of water to drink, he was desirous to fast in that manner a whole year. At the same time he kept a table suitable to his rank, for the lords who visited him, and the officers that attended him; dining with his company, he ate his leeks or pulse very slow, and conversed facetiously with them that no one might observe him, if possible, though at table his discourse generally turned on piety. His watching, disciplines, and other austerities were very severe. By this rigorous way of living he, who was before very fat, became so lean that his servant found his clothes grown about half a yard too big for him within the space of a year. He used often to say, "We must make our way towards eternity, never regarding what men think of us or our actions, studying only to please God." Knowing the obligation of dying perfectly to ourselves, this he endeavoured to effect from the beginning of his conversion by humiliations, and a sovereign contempt of himself. He had formerly been accustomed to communicate only once a month. Since he had altered his manner of living, he confessed his sin once every week, communicated in public on all great festivals, and privately every Sunday, generally with wonderful spiritual consolation and delight.

He sometimes considered the peace, serenity, and solid joy with which divine love fills a soul whose affections are disentangled from earthly things, and the inexpressible pure delights and sweetness which the presence of the Holy Ghost infuses into hearts which He prepares by His grace to receive His communications ; and comparing these with the foolish, empty, and base satisfactions of worldlings, he was not able to express his astonishment, but cried out, "O sensual, base, miserable, and blind life ! is it possible that men should be such strangers to their own happiness, such enemies to themselves, to be fond of thy false enjoyments, and for their sake to deprive themselves of those that are pure, permanent, and solid !" This was the life of the devout viceroy when F. Antony Aroz, the first professed Jesuit after the ten that were concerned in the foundation of that order, came to preach at Barcelona. By his means Francis became acquainted with this new institute, and the character of its holy founder, to whom he wrote to consult him whether so frequent communion as once a week was to be commended in persons engaged in the world. St. Ignatius, who was then at Rome, answered him, that frequent communion is the best means to cure the disorders of our souls, and to raise them to perfect virtue ; but advised him to make choice of a prudent and pious director, and to follow his advice. Pursuant to this direction, Francis continued his weekly communion, employing three days before it in preparatory exercises, and three days after in the acts of thanksgiving. From that time he began frequently to make use of Jesuits for his directors, and to promote the Society of Jesus in Spain, which had been approved by Paul III. two years before.

During this interval died John Duke of Gandia, his father, a nobleman of singular virtue. When a person complained that his alms exceeded his estate, his answer was : "If I had thrown away a larger sum on my pleasures, no one would have found fault with me. But I had rather incur your censure, and deprive myself of necessaries, than that Christ's members should be left in distress." Francis was much affected at the news of his death, by which the titles and honours of Duke of Gandia devolved upon him. Shortly after, he obtained of the Emperor, as he passed through Barcelona on his road to Italy, leave to quit his government ; but his majesty insisted that he should repair to court, and accept of the office of master of the household to the infanta, Maria of Portugal, daughter to King John III., then upon the point of being married to Philip, the Emperor's son ; but the death of that princess before the intended marriage set our saint at liberty to follow his own inclinations to a retired life. He therefore returned to Gandia, in 1543,

which town he fortified, that it might not be exposed to the plunders of the Moors and pirates from Barbary. He built a convent for the Dominicans at Lombay, repaired the hospital, and founded a college of Jesuits at Gandia. His duchess, Eleanor, who concurred with him in all his pious views, fell sick of a lingering distemper, during which Francis continued to fast, pray, and give large alms for her recovery. One day, as he was praying for her, prostrate in his closet, with great earnestness, he was on a sudden visited with an extraordinary interior light in his soul, and heard, as it were, a voice saying distinctly within him, "If thou wouldst have the life of the Duchess prolonged, it shall be granted, but it is not expedient for thee." This he heard so clearly and evidently that, as he assured others, he could not doubt, either then or afterward, but it was a divine admonition. He remained exceedingly confounded, and penetrated with a most sweet and tender love of God, and bursting into a flood of tears, he addressed himself to God, as follows: "O my Lord and my God, leave not this, which is only in Thy power, to my will. Who art Thou but my Creator and sovereign good? and who am I but a miserable creature? I am bound in all things to conform my will to Thine. Thou alone knowest what is best, and what is for my good. As I am not my own, but altogether Thine, so neither do I desire that my will be done, but Thine, nor will I have any other will but Thine. Do what Thou pleasest with the life of my wife, that of my children, and my own, and with all things Thou hast given me." Thus, in all our prayers which we put up to God for health, life, or any temporal blessings, we only ask that He grant them in mercy, and so far only as He sees expedient for our spiritual good. The Duke made this oblation of himself and all things that he possessed with extraordinary fervour and resignation. From that day the Duchess grew every day sensibly much worse, and died on the 27th of March, 1546, leaving the Duke a widower in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Her great piety, and the heroic practices of all Christian virtues by which she prepared herself for her passage, gave him the greatest comfort under his loss by an assured hope of her eternal happiness. A few days after her death, F. Peter Le Fevre or Faber, St. Ignatius's first associate in founding his order, came to Gandia. He was then leaving Spain to go into Italy, and was ordered by St. Ignatius to call upon the Duke of Gandia in his way. Our saint made a retreat under his direction according to the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, and rejoiced exceedingly that he had found in this experienced director such a spiritual master and guide as he wished. With him the saint agreed upon the execution of a design he had formed of founding



a college of Jesuits at Gandia, and F. Le Fevre, after having said Mass, laid the first stone, the Duke the second, and his sons each another, on the 5th May, 1546. In favour of this college, the Duke procured that Gandia should be honoured by the Pope and Emperor with the privileges of a university. F. Le Fevre died on the 1st of August the same year, 1546, soon after his arrival at Rome. After his departure from Gandia, St. Francis, from the conferences he had with him, composed several small treatises of piety, which show by what exercises he began to lay the foundation of a spiritual life. The two first of these books treat of the method of acquiring a true knowledge of ourselves, and sincere humility.

In the meantime the good Duke took a resolution to consecrate himself to God in some religious order, and having long recommended the affair to God, and taken the advice of learned and pious men, deliberating with himself whether to prefer an active or a contemplative state, he made choice of the active, and determined to embrace the Society of Jesus, then lately founded, in which he was much delighted with the zealous views of that holy order, and with that rule by which all preferment to ecclesiastical dignities is cut off. He sent his petition for admittance to St. Ignatius at Rome by a servant. The holy founder received his request with great joy; but, in his answer, advised the Duke to defer the execution of his design till he had settled his children, and finished the foundations he had begun, advising him in the meantime to study a regular course of theology at Gandia, and to take the degree of doctor in that faculty. The Duke punctually obeyed his directions, but was obliged to assist, in 1547, at the cortes or general states of three kingdoms, of which that of Arragon was then compounded, and which were assembled at Monson. The reconciliation of the nobility, both among themselves and with their sovereign, was the important and delicate affair which was to be there settled. The Emperor, who by former experience was well acquainted with the extraordinary integrity and abilities of the Duke of Gandia, had enjoined his son Prince Philip, who held the states, to take care that he should be appointed tratador or president. By his dexterity and steady virtue, matters were settled to the satisfaction of all parties, and the saint delivered himself this last time in which he spoke on the public affairs of state in such a manner as to move exceedingly all who heard him. In the same year he made the first vows of the society before private witnesses in the chapel of the college he had founded at Gandia. For St. Ignatius, knowing the earnestness of his desire to complete his intended sacrifice, and considering by how many ties he was held, which it was difficult for him to break at once,

obtained a brief of the Pope, by which he was allowed to spend four years in the world after he should have made his first vows. By them the saint consecrated himself with his whole heart as an holocaust to God; and leaving his castle to his eldest son, retired into a private house, where he studied the positive and scholastic theology under the learned doctor Perez, whom he invited from Valencia to settle in his new college at Gandia. The rule of life which he prescribed himself was as follows: He rose every morning at two o'clock, spent six hours in private prayer till eight, then went to confession, heard Mass, and received every day the Holy Communion, which he did in the great church on Sundays and holidays; on other days, in his own private chapel, or that of the nunnery of St. Clare. At nine o'clock he received his theological lesson, and studied till almost dinner-time, when he took some moments to give audience to his officers of justice, and despatch business; he dined at twelve very temperately, after which he spent an hour in giving useful directions to his children, servants, or others; the afternoons he gave to his studies, and the evenings to his devotions, without ever taking any supper or collation. In his night examination he was remarkably rigorous in calling himself to account, and punishing himself for the least failings that he apprehended. He married his eldest son Charles to Donna Maria Centellas, the daughter of Francis Centellas, Count of Olivia, and Donna Maria Cardona, daughter to the duke of that name. The saint also made a provision for all his other children, took the degree of doctor at Gandia, and made his will, which was no difficult task, as by his prudence and economy he was his own executor, and left no obligations undischarged; only he recommended to his heirs the protection of his three convents—of the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Poor Clares.

Having finished his affairs, though the four years which were granted to him were not expired, he set out for Rome in 1549, being accompanied by his second son John, thirty servants, and some Jesuits who went from their convent at Gandia to a general chapter which was then held at Rome. In going out of the town of Gandia, he sung those two verses: "*When Israel went out of Egypt;*" and, "*Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and we are escaped.*" In his journey he observed the same rule of life which he had followed the three last years, spending as much time in prayer, and going to confession, and receiving the Communion every day. Notwithstanding his repugnance, he was obliged to submit to the magnificent receptions he met with at Ferrara, that of the Duke of Florence, and at Rome, where he arrived on the 31st of August, 1550. He

refused to lodge at the Pope's palace, or any other, which he was earnestly pressed to do, and chose a mean cell in the convent of the Jesuits. St. Ignatius waited to receive him at the door ; and the Duke, throwing himself at his feet, begged his blessing, and honoured him as his father and superior. After paying his obeisance to the Pope, and receiving and returning the visits of all the great men at Rome, he performed his devotions for the Jubilee. With a considerable sum of money, which he brought from Spain, he built a church for the use of the Professed House, and laid the foundation of a great college of Jesuits called the Roman College, but refused the title and honour of founder. Pope Gregory XIII. finished it in the most magnificent and complete manner. From Rome he sent a gentleman, who was a domestic client, to the Emperor in Germany, to beg his license to resign his duchy to his eldest son. He laments, in his letter to that prince, and accuses himself that by the scandalous life he had led in his court, he had deserved hell, and even the lowest place in hell ; earnestly thanks the divine mercy for having borne with him with infinite goodness and patience ; he expresses an humble and tender gratitude to the Fathers of the society, who, out of compassion for his soul, had admitted him amongst them to spend the remaining part of his life in penance and in the divine service. He promises his imperial majesty to pray that God, who had made him victorious over his enemies, would give him the more important victory over his passions and himself ; and enkindle His pure love in his soul, with an ardent devotion to the passion of Jesus Christ, so that the Cross should become his delight and his glory. This letter was dated Rome, the 15th of January, 1551.

Upon a rumour that Pope Julius III. was resolved to promote our saint to the dignity of cardinal, he obtained the leave of St. Ignatius, after having stayed four months at Rome, to withdraw privately into Spain, where he lived some time concealed in Guipuscoa (a small province in Biscay), at the castle of Loyola, then retired to a small convent of his order at Ognata, a town about four leagues from Loyola. In this place the Emperor's obliging answer was brought him, in which his majesty expressed how much he was edified at the exchange he had made of the world for heaven, and how much he was afflicted to lose him ; but ratified his request, and promised to take his children under his especial protection. The Duke having read this letter, retired into an oratory, and, prostrate on the ground, made the most perfect consecration of himself to God ; and desiring no other riches or possession but Him alone, and renouncing in his heart the whole world, he earnestly begged the grace perfectly to die to himself,

that God alone, or His love, might live and reign in his soul, and that he might deserve to carry the cross of his Redeemer by the practice of mortification and poverty. Coming out of his closet, he made a solemn renunciation of all his worldly dignities and possessions, according to the legal forms, in favour of his eldest son, who was absent ; then cut his hair, put off his ducal robes, and put on the Jesuit's habit. This being done, he went again into the oratory to renew his offering of himself to God, and to beg His grace, that his sacrifice might be made entire, and he sung with great joy those words of the Psalmist : *I am Thy servant*. This passed in 1551. After the most devout preparation, he was ordained priest on the 1st of August the same year, and said his first Mass in the chapel of Loyola.

The saint begged of the magistrates of Ognata a small hermitage dedicated in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, a mile from that town, and with the leave of his superiors, retired thither with certain Fathers of the society, that he might more heartily devote himself to the practices of humility, penance, and prayer. With great importunity he obtained leave to serve the cook, fetch water, and carry wood ; he made the fire and swept the kitchen ; and when he waited at table, he often fell on his knees to beg pardon of the Fathers and lay-brothers for having served them ill ; and he frequently kissed their feet with extraordinary affection and humility. He loved and coveted the meanest employs with a sincere affection of humility, and was delighted to carry a wallet on his shoulders to beg, especially where he was not known. He often went through the villages with a bell, calling the children to catechism, and diligently teaching them their prayers and the Christian doctrine, and instructing and preaching to all ranks, especially the poor. At the earnest request of the viceroy of Navarre, Don Bernardin of Cardenas, Duke of Marquede, the saint preached in that country with incredible fruit, and the Duke regulated his whole conduct and all his affairs by the saint's direction. The Emperor and Pope Julius III. concurred in the design of adopting St. Francis into the college of cardinals. St. Ignatius fell at the feet of His Holiness, begging he would not inflict such a wound on his society, by which its fences would be broken down, and one of its most express rules rendered useless. St. Francis had recourse to tears, prayers, and extraordinary mortifications to avert the danger. When this storm was blown over, St. Ignatius sent St. Francis an order to preach in other parts of Spain, to which he was invited with great importunity. The success which everywhere attended his labours is not to be conceived ; and many persons of the first quality desired to regulate their families and their consciences entirely by his advice.

After doing wonders in Castile and Andalusia, he seemed to surpass himself in Portugal, especially at Evora and Lisbon. King John III. had been the warmest protector of the society from its infancy. His brother, the infant Don Lewis, desired to make himself a Jesuit; but St. Francis and St. Ignatius thinking his assistance necessary to the King in the administration of the public affairs, persuaded him to satisfy himself with following a plan of life which St. Francis drew up for him in the world. The most learned doctors acknowledge that the spiritual wisdom of this saint was not learned from the books which he was accustomed to read, but from secret humble prayer, and a close communication with the divine wisdom. St. Ignatius augmenting the provinces of the society in Spain to the number of five, besides the Indies, appointed St. Francis commissary-general of the order in Spain, Portugal, and the Indies in 1554; but obliged him in the practice of particular austerities to obey another; for such had always been the fervour of our saint in his severe penitential exercises, that the holy general had found it necessary from the beginning of his conversion to mitigate them by strict injunctions. Amidst the numberless conversions of souls, and the foundations of new houses, St. Francis found time and opportunities for his accustomed devotions and humiliations in serving his brethren and the poor in hospitals and prisons. When anyone was fallen into any fault, he would say to them: "Through my unworthiness God has permitted such a misfortune to befall you. We will join our endeavours in doing penance. For my part I will fast, or pray, or take a discipline so and so; what will you do?" On the like occasions such was his patience and humility, it seemed impossible for anyone to resist the force of his example and charity. St. Ignatius dying in 1556, F. Laynez was chosen second general of the society, St. Francis being at that time detained in Spain by a fit of the gout.

The Emperor Charles V., sated with the emptiness of worldly grandeur, and wearied with the dissipation, fatigues, and weight of government, forsook the world, abdicated the empire by a solemn act which he signed at Zuytburg in Zell, on the 7th of September, 1556, and chose for the place of his retirement a great monastery of Hieronymites, called of St. Justus, in the most agreeable plains of Placentia, in Spanish Estremadura, not far from Portugal. Antonio de Vera, De Thou, Surius, Sleidan, and many other historians give us an edifying account of the life he led in this solitude, applying himself much to pious reading (in which the works of St. Bernard were his chiefest delight), to the practices of devotion, and to frequent meditation on death. That this might make the stronger impression on his mind, he caused his own funeral office

to be celebrated before he died, and assisted himself at the ceremony, dressed in black. He worked in his garden, and at making clocks, assisted at all the divine offices, communicated very often at Mass, and took the discipline with the monks every Friday. As he travelled through Spain to the place of his retirement, from Biscay, where he landed, he saw himself neglected by the president of Castile and others who had the greatest obligations to him; and he found the payments slack of the small pension which was all he had reserved out of so many kingdoms. Hereupon he let drop some words of complaint; but desiring to see F. Francis Borgia, the saint waited upon him, and the Emperor was wonderfully comforted by his discourses. This prince had been prepossessed against the society, and expressed his surprise that F. Francis should have preferred it to so many ancient orders. The saint removed his prejudices, and for the motives which had determined him in his choice, he alleged that God had called him to a state in which the active and contemplative life are joined together, and in which he was freed from the danger of being raised to dignities, to shun which he had fled from the world. He added that if the society was a new order, the fervour of those who are engaged in it answered that objection. After staying three days with the Emperor, he took leave, and continued his visitation of the colleges and new foundations erected in favour of his order in Spain.

The society sustained a great loss by the death of John III., the most valiant and pious King of Portugal, who was carried off by an apoplexy in the year 1557. This great and religious prince, who had succeeded his father Emanuel the Great in 1521, during a reign of thirty-six years had laboured with great zeal to propagate the faith in Asia and Africa, and had founded many colleges and convents. The crown devolved upon his grandson Sebastian, then only three years old, his father, the infant John, son to the late king, and his mother, Joanna, daughter to Charles V., being both dead. His grandmother, Queen Catherine, was regent of the kingdom, to whom St. Francis wrote a letter of condolence and consolation, tenderly exhorting her to praise God for all His mercies, to be resigned to His holy will, and to have no other view than to advance in His grace and love. Afterward the Emperor deputed St. Francis to make his compliments of condolence to the queen regent, and treat with her about certain affairs of great importance. A dangerous pestilential fever and her majesty's great respect for his person detained him a considerable time in Portugal; but before the end of the year he went back to the Emperor to inform him of the result of his commission. His majesty soon after sent for him again, and discoursed with

him on spiritual things, especially prayer, works of satisfaction, and penance, and the making the best preparation for death. The Emperor told St. Francis that since he had been twenty-one years of age he had never passed a day without mental prayer, and he asked, among other scruples, whether it was a sin of vanity in him to have committed to writing several actions of his life, seeing he had done it for the sake, not of human applause, but of truth, and merely because he had found them misrepresented in other histories he had read. St. Francis left him to go to Valladolid, but had not been there many days before news was brought of the Emperor's death. That prince, after devoutly confessing his sins, and receiving the viaticum and the extreme unction, holding a crucifix in his hands, and repeating the holy name of Jesus, expired on the 21st of September, 1551. St. Francis made his funeral panegyric at Valladolid, insisting on his happiness in having forsaken the world before it forsook him, in order to complete his victory over himself.

The true greatness of our saint appeared not in the honours and applause which he often received, but in the sincere humility which he took care constantly to nourish and improve in his heart. In these dispositions he looked upon humiliations as his greatest gain and honour. From the time that he began to give himself totally to the divine service, he learned the infinite importance and difficulty of attaining to perfect humility. The most profound interior exercise of that virtue was the constant employment of his soul. At all times he studied most perfectly to confound and humble himself in the divine presence beneath all creatures, and within himself. Amidst the greatest honours and respect that were shown him at Valladolid, his companion, F. Bustamanti, took notice, that he was not only mortified and afflicted, but more than ordinarily confounded, of which he asked the reason. "I considered," said the saint, "in my morning meditation, that hell is my due; and I think that all men, even children, and all dumb creatures ought to cry out to me, Away; hell is thy place; or thou art one whose soul ought to be in hell." From this reflection he humbled his soul, and raised himself to the most ardent love of God, and tender affection towards the divine mercy. He one day told the novices that, in meditating on the actions of Christ, he had for six years always placed himself in spirit at the feet of Judas; but that, considering that Christ had washed the feet of that traitor, he durst not approach, and from that time looked upon himself as excluded from all places, and unworthy to hold any in the world, and looked upon all other creatures with a degree of respect, and at a distance. When the mules and

equipages of many cardinals and princes preceded him, to show him honour in the entry he made at Rome in 1550, before he had laid aside his titles and rank in the world, he said : " Nothing is more just than that brute beasts should be companions of one who resembles them." At all commendations or applause he always shuddered, calling to mind the dreadful account he must one day give to God, how far he was from the least degree of virtue, and how base and execrable hypocrisy will appear at the last day. Upon his renouncing the world, in his letters he subscribed himself *Francis the Sinner*, calling this his only title, till St. Ignatius ordered him to omit it, as a singularity. In this interior spirit of humility he laid hold of every opportunity of practising exterior humiliations, as the means perfectly to extinguish all pride in his heart, and to ground himself in the most sincere contempt of himself. He pressed with the utmost importunity Don Philip, whilst that prince was regent of Spain for his father, to extort from him a promise that he would never concur to his being nominated bishop, or raised to any other ecclesiastical dignity ; adding, that this would be the highest favour he could receive from him. Others, he said, could live humble in spirit amidst honours, and in high posts, which the established subordination of the world makes necessary ; but for his part, it was his earnest desire and ambition to leave the world in embracing the state of a poor religious man. When a gentleman, whom John, King of Portugal, sent to compliment him upon his first coming to Lisbon, used the title of his lordship, the saint was uneasy, and said, he was indeed tired with his journey, but much more with that word. He used to say, that he had reaped this only advantage from having been duke, that he was on that account admitted into the society ; for he should otherwise have been rejected as unfit and incapable. His greatest delight was to instruct the poor in places where he was unknown, or to perform the meanest offices in the convents where he came. It was his ambition at college to teach the lowest class of grammar, and he only dropped that request upon being told he was not qualified for the task. At Evora, when the whole country assembled to receive from him some instruction, he threw himself on his knees, and kissed the feet of all the fathers and lay-brothers, with which act of humility they were more affected than they could have been by any sermon. At Porto, though commissary of his order, he took the keys of the gate, and served as porter. A certain postulant who was sent thither to him from Seville at that time in order to be admitted to the novitiate found him at the gate among the poor. St. Francis told him there was a great heap of filth near them, which he was to carry away, and



asked if he would help him. The postulant readily assented, and they cleansed the place. When he had ate something very bitter and very ill dressed, on a journey, his companion, F. Bustamanti, asked him how he could eat it. His answer was: "It would seem delicious to one who had tasted of the gall with which the damned are tormented in hell." In travelling he generally lay on straw, or, in winter, in barns. A nobleman, who had been his friend in the world, asked him how he could rest so ill accommodated, and entreated him to accept of better lodgings, and, in journeys, to send a messenger to prepare necessities before he arrived. The saint replied, "I always send a faithful messenger before me to do all that." "Who is that?" said the other. "It is," replied the saint, "the consideration of what I deserve for my sins. Any lodging appears too good for one whose dwelling ought to be in hell." Being once on a journey with F. Bustamanti, they lay all night together in a cottage upon straw, and F. Bustamanti, who was very old and asthmatical, coughed and spit all night; and, thinking that he spit upon the wall, frequently disgorged a great quantity of phlegm on his face, which the saint never turned from him. Next morning F. Bustamanti, finding what he had done, was in great confusion, and begged his pardon. Francis answered: "You have no reason; for you could not have found a fouler place, or fitter to be spit upon." Trials which are involuntary are much more profitable than humiliations of choice, in which self-love easily insinuates itself. Such, therefore, as Providence sent, the saint most cheerfully embraced. Amongst others, whilst he was employed at Porto in the foundation of a convent, he heard that the Inquisition had forbid the reading of some of the little tracts he had wrote whilst he was Duke of Gandia, upon a groundless suspicion or error. His silence and modesty on that occasion seemed at first to embolden his adversaries; but these works were at last cleared of all suspicions of error, and the censure taken off. Some raised a clamour against him on account of his former intimacy with the learned Dominican Bartholomew Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, whom, at the instigation of King Philip II., the Inquisition in Spain cast into prison, upon false surmises; but that prelate was protected by the Pope, and at last died at Rome in peace. Many slanders were raised against the society in Spain, which Melchior Canon, the learned Bishop of the Canaries, author of the excellent book "On Theological Commonplaces," suffered himself to be too much carried away by. But the pious Lewis of Granada and our saint, after some time, dispersed them.

By the extraordinary humility of St. Francis we may form some idea how much he excelled in all other virtues. No one could be

a greater lover of holy poverty than our saint. This he showed in all his actions. From the day of his profession he never inter-meddled in money concerns, thinking it his happiness that he was never employed as procurator or dispenser in any house of his order. How sparing he was in fire, paper, and clothes is altogether incredible. One pair of shoes often lasted him two years. The same cassock served him in journeys, and at home, in all seasons ; only in travelling he turned the wrong side out, that it might be kept neater, and last better. No one could ever prevail upon him to use boots, or any additional clothing, in travelling in sharp or rainy weather ; and he never seemed better pleased than when he came in wet and fatigued to a place where neither fire nor any refreshment was to be had. The Marchioness of Pliego having sent him a present of a pair of warm stockings, they were laid by his bedside in the night, and his old ones taken away, in hopes he would not have perceived the change ; but in the morning he was not to be satisfied till the brother had brought him his old darned stockings. The oldest habit and the meanest cell he sought. The Spanish ambassador's sister at Rome once said to him at table : "Your condition, Francis, is wretched if, after exchanging your riches for so great poverty, you should not gain heaven in the end." "I should be miserable indeed," said the saint ; "but as for the exchange, I have been already a great gainer by it." A perfect spirit of obedience made him always respect exceedingly all his superiors : the least intimation of their will he received as if it had been a voice from heaven. When letters from St. Ignatius were delivered to him in Spain, he received them on his knees, and prayed, before he opened them, that God would give him grace punctually to obey whatever orders they contained. When he served in the kitchen, he would never stir without the leave of the brother who was the cook ; and when for a long time he was ordered to obey a lay-brother, called Mark, in all things that regarded his health and diet, he would neither eat nor drink the least thing without his direction. He used to say, that he hoped the society would flourish to the divine honour by three things : First, the spirit of prayer, and frequent use of the sacraments. Secondly, by the opposition of the world, and by persecutions. Thirdly, by the practice of perfect obedience. Penance is the means by which every Christian hopes to attain to salvation. St. Francis usually called it the high-road to heaven ; and sometimes he said, he trembled lest he should be summoned before the tribunal of Christ, before he had learned to conquer himself. For this grace he prayed daily with many tears. His hair-shirts and disciplines, with the cloths with which he wiped off the blood, he

kept under lock and key whilst he was viceroy of Catalonia, and whilst he was general of the society. Sometimes he put gravel in his shoes when he walked ; and daily, by many little artifices, he studied to complete the sacrifice of his penance, and to overcome himself. When the cook had one day by mistake made his broth with wormwood, which he had gathered instead of other herbs, the saint ate it cheerfully without saying a word. Being asked how he liked it, he said : " I never ate anything fitter for me." When others found out the mistake, and the cook in great confusion asked his pardon : " May God bless and reward you," said he ; " you are the only person amongst all my brethren that knows what suits me best." To his daughter the Countess of Lerma, when she complained of pain in a fit of illness, he said : " God sends pain to those who are unwilling to bear it, and refuses it to those who desire to suffer something for the exercise of patience and penance." Such desires in certain fervent penitents, arising from a great zeal to punish sin in themselves, and subdue sensuality and self-love, ought to confound our sloth, and love of softness and ease. But it is lawful and expedient with humility and charity to deprecate pain if it may please God to remove or mitigate it, though to bear it, when sent by God, with patience and resignation, is a duty and precept, as it also is so far to practise mortification, as to endeavour by it to fulfil our penance, and gain the victory over ourselves. St. Francis once said to his sister, the Poor Clare at Gandia : " It is our duty in a religious state to die to ourselves twenty-four times a day, that we may be able to say with the apostle, *I die daily*, and be of the number of those of whom he says, *You are dead*." In sickness he chewed bitter pills, and swallowed the most nauseous potions slowly ; and being asked the reason, he said : " This beast" (so he often called his body) " must suffer to expiate the delight it formerly took in immoderately flattering its palate. And can I forget that Christ drank gall for me on His cross !"

Much might be said of this saint's singular prudence, on his candour and simplicity in all his words and actions, and on his tender charity and humanity towards all men. Though all virtues were eminent in him, none appeared more remarkable than his spirit of prayer. Dead to the world and to himself, and deeply penetrated with a sense of his own weakness and spiritual wants on one hand, and of the divine goodness and love on the other, he raised his pure affections to God with unabated ardour. His prayer, even before he left the world, seemed perpetual ; but much more so afterward. Amidst the greatest hurry of business he kept himself in the actual presence of God, and often in company

appeared quite absorbed in Him. Five or six hours which he dedicated together to prayer in the morning seemed to him scarce a quarter of an hour ; and, when he came from that heavenly exercise, his countenance seemed to shine with a dazzling light. His preparation for Mass often held some hours ; and in his thanksgiving after offering that adorable Sacrifice, he sometimes so much forgot himself, being transported in God, that it was necessary to force him from church, almost by violence, to dinner. Such were the devotion and modesty which appeared in his face, that many, whenever they found their souls spiritually dry, were excited to devotion by seeing and conversing a little with him. In order to attain the greatest purity of soul possible, he went twice a day to confession, with great compunction for the smallest imperfections in his actions, before Mass, and again in the evening ; a practice not to be advised to those who are in danger of doing it negligently, or without sufficient contrition, and endeavour perfectly to purge their hearts. From the heavenly sweetness which he tasted in the communication of his soul with God, he used to express his astonishment at, and compassion for, the blindness of worldlings, who know not the happiness of a spiritual life, and delight themselves in the brutal gratifications of sense. The news of the sudden death of the saint's dearest daughter, Isabel of Arragon, Countess of Lerma, a lady of singular piety, and of the greatest endowments, was brought him whilst he was in the streets of Valladolid, going to court. He stopped, shut his eyes, prayed secretly for about the space of four minutes, and then went on. At court he conversed with the Princess as usual. In taking leave, he recommended to her prayers the soul of her late servant Isabel. "What !" said the Princess, "has a father no more feeling for the death of such a daughter ?" "Madam," he replied, "she was only lent me. The Master has called her hence. Ought I not to thank Him for having given her me so long, and for having now called her to His glory, as I hope in His mercy ?" On the same occasion, he said to the constable of Castile : "Since the Lord hath called me to His service, and hath required of me to give Him my heart, I have endeavoured to resign it to Him so entirely, that no creature, living or dead, should ever disturb it."

F. Laynez, second general of the Jesuits, dying in 1565, St. Francis, notwithstanding all the precautions he could take to prevent it, was chosen to succeed him, on the 2nd of July. He made tender exhortations to the Fathers who composed the general assembly of the society, and kissed the feet of every one amongst them before they departed. His first care in this new charge was to found a house for the novitiate in Rome. He promoted the

interest of the society in all parts of the world with such success, that he might be called a second founder ; and the zeal with which he propagated the missions, and instructed and animated the labourers in planting the Gospel in the most remote countries of the eastern and western hemisphere, entitles him to a great share in the conversion of those countries to the faith. He was not less active in directing his religious brethren in Europe, and in animating them with the zealous spirit of their institute for the reformation of the manners of Christians. Preaching being the principal means instituted by God for the conversion of souls, this holy instructor of preachers, not content most earnestly to recommend this sacred pastoral function, laid down excellent rules for duly performing the same. In 1566 a pestilence broke out, and made great havoc in Rome, upon which occasion St. Francis procured both from the Pope and magistrates plentiful alms for the relief of the poor, and commissioned the Fathers of his order, two and two, to attend the sick in all parts of the city, with imminent danger of their own lives. In 1570, the year before the victory of Lepanto, Pope Pius V. sent St. Francis, with his nephew the Cardinal Alexandrin, on an embassy into France, Spain, and Portugal, to engage the Christian princes to send succours for the defence of Christendom against the Mahometans. The saint had been for some time in a bad state of health ; his infirmities, inclination to retirement, and a deep sense of the weight of his post, which he had filled five years, put him upon a design to procure a discharge from that burden in 1570 ; but this his brethren would by no means listen to. During this legation his distempers increased upon him, inso-much that when he arrived at Ferrara on his return, the Duke, who was his cousin, sent him from thence to Rome in a litter. During this state of his illness he would admit no visits but from persons whose entertainment turned on spiritual matters, except physicians. The Fathers of the society begged he would name his successor, and allow them the satisfaction of taking his picture ; but he would do neither. When he had lost his speech in his agony, a painter was introduced to his bedside. The saint perceiving him, expressed his extreme displeasure with his dying hands and eyes, and turned away his face, so that nothing could be done. F. Condren, the pious general of the French Oratorians, and other holy men, have from a sincere humility shown a like reluctance, whilst others have been inclined by charity to condescend to such requests of friends. St. Francis closed a holy life by a more holy and edifying death, a little before midnight, between the last of September and the 1st of October, in 1572, having lived sixty-two years wanting twenty-eight days ; Cardinal Buoncompagno, under the name of Gregory

XIII., being Pope, having lately succeeded St. Pius V., who died on the 1st of May the same year. F. Verjus gives a history of several miracles, predictions, and raptures of St. Francis Borgia. His body, which was buried in the old church of the professed house, was afterward, in 1617, by the care of the Cardinal and Duke of Lerma, the saint's grandson, first minister of state to Philip III., King of Spain, removed to Madrid, where it is honoured at this day in the church of the profession house of the Jesuits. St. Francis was beatified by Urban VIII. in 1624, and canonized by Clement IX. in 1716, and his festival fixed on the 10th of October by Innocent XI. in 1683.

The active and contemplative life in an ecclesiastical person are two individual sisters, who must always go together, and mutually assist each other. Every pastor owes to God the homage of continual praise, and to his people the suffrages of his sacrifices, and supplications in their behalf. How diligently soever he acquits himself of his external duties towards them, he fails essentially if he ceases to recommend earnestly to God their public and private spiritual necessities, being appointed the mediator betwixt them and God. Moreover, recollection and assiduous pious meditation are the very soul of an ecclesiastical spirit. A life of habitual dissipation strikes not at particular duties only, but destroys the very essence and spirit of this state, disqualifies a person for all its functions, and leaves him a stranger to the spirit of all its sacred employments and obligations. The most essential preparation, and the very soul of this state, is a spirit of prayer ; without this a person is no more than the shadow of a pastor, or a body without a soul to animate it, and can never deserve the name of a clergyman, or a religious man.

## SAINT FRANCIS OF SALES,

BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

A.D. 1622.

THE parents of this saint were Francis, Count of Sales, and Frances of Sionas. The Countess being with child, offered her fruit to God, with the most fervent prayers, begging He would preserve it from the corruption of the world, and rather deprive her of the comfort of seeing herself a mother, than suffer her to give birth to a child who should ever become His enemy by sin. The saint was born at Sales, three leagues from Annecy, the seat of that noble family; and his mother was delivered of him when she was but seven months advanced in her pregnancy. Hence he was reared with difficulty, and was so weak, that his life during his infancy was often despaired of by physicians. However, he escaped the danger and grew robust; he was very beautiful, and the sweetness of his countenance won the affections of all who saw him; but the meekness of his temper, the pregnancy of his wit, his modesty, tractableness, and obedience, were far more valuable qualifications. The Countess could scarce suffer the child out of her sight, lest any tincture of vice might infect his soul. Her first care was to inspire him with the most profound respect for the Church, and all holy things; and she had the comfort to observe in him a recollection and devotion at his prayers far above his age. She read to him the lives of the saints, adding recollections suited to his capacity; and she took care to have him with her when she visited the poor, making him the distributor of her alms, and to do such little offices for them as he was able. He would set by his own meat for their relief, and when he had nothing left to bestow on them, would beg for them of all his relations. His horror of a lie, even in his infancy, made him prefer any disgrace or chastisement to the telling of the least wilful untruth.

His mother's inclination for a domestic preceptor, to prevent his being corrupted by wicked youth in colleges, was overruled by

her husband's persuasion of the usefulness of emulation for advancing children in their studies ; hoping his son's virtue and modesty would, under God, be a sufficient guard of his innocence. He was accordingly sent to Rocheville at six years of age, and some time after to Annecy. An excellent memory, a solid judgment, and a good application could not fail of great progress. The young Count spent as much of his time as possible in private studies and lectures of piety, especially that of the lives of saints ; and by his diligence always doubled or trebled his school tasks. He showed an early inclination for the ecclesiastical state, and obtained his father's consent, though not without some reluctance, for his receiving tonsure in the year 1578, and the eleventh of his age. He was sent afterward, under the care of a virtuous priest, his preceptor, to pursue his studies in Paris ; his mother having first instilled into him steady principles of virtue, a love of prayer, and a dread of sin and its occasions. She often repeated to him those words of Queen Blanche to her son, St. Lewis, King of France, " I had rather see you dead, than hear you had committed one mortal sin." On his arrival at Paris, he entered the Jesuits' schools, and went through his rhetoric and philosophy with great applause. In pure obedience to his father's orders, he learned in the academy to ride, dance, and fence, whence he acquired that easy behaviour which he retained ever after. But these exercises, as matters of amusement, did not hinder his close application to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and of positive divinity for six years, under the famous Genebrard and Maldonatus. But his principal concern all this time was a regular course of piety, by which he laboured to sanctify himself and all his actions. Pious meditation and the study of the Holy Scripture were his beloved entertainments ; and he never failed to carry about him that excellent book called the "Spiritual Combat." He sought the conversation of the virtuous, particularly of F. Angelus Joyeuse, who, from a duke and marshal of France, was become a Capuchin friar. The frequent discourses of this good man on the necessity of mortification induced the Count to add to his usual austerities the wearing of a hair-shirt three days in the week. His chief resort during his stay at Paris was to some churches, that especially of St. Stephen des Grez, as being one of the most retired. Here he made a vow of perpetual chastity, putting himself under the special patronage of the Blessed Virgin. God, to purify his heart, permitted a thick darkness insensibly to overspread his mind, and a spiritual dryness and melancholy to overwhelm him. He seemed, from a perfect tranquillity and peace of mind, to be almost brought to the brink of despair. Seized



with the greatest terrors, he passed nights and days in tears and lamentations, and suffered more than can be conceived by those who have not felt the severity of such interior conflicts. The bitterness of his grief threw him into a deep jaundice ; he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep. His preceptor laboured, but all in vain, to discover the cause of this disorder, and find out a remedy. At last, Francis, being at prayer in the same church of St. Stephen, cast his eyes on a picture of our Lady : this awaking his confidence in her intercession, he prostrated himself on the ground, and as unworthy to address the Father of all consolation, begged that she would be his advocate, and procure him the grace to love God with his whole heart. That very moment he found himself eased of his grief, as of a heavy weight taken off his heart, and his former peace and tranquillity restored, which he ever after enjoyed. He was now eighteen years old, when his father recalled him from Paris, and sent him to Padua, to study the law, where his master was the celebrated Guy Pancirola ; this was in the year 1554. He chose the learned and pious Jesuit, Antony Possevin, for his spiritual director, who at the same time explained to him St. Thomas's Sum, and they read together Bellarmin's controversies. His nephew Augustus gives us his written rule of life, which he made at Padua : it chiefly shows his perpetual attention to the presence of God, his care to offer up every action to Him, and implore His aid at the beginning of each. Falling sick, he was despaired of by the physicians, and he himself expected with joy his last moment. His preceptor, Deage, who had ever attended him, asked him with tears what he had to order about his funeral and other matters. "Nothing," answered he cheerfully, "unless it be that my body be given to the anatomy theatre to be dissected ; for it will be a comfort to me if I can be of any advantage when dead, having been of none whilst alive. Thus I may also prevent some of the disorders and quarrels which happen between the young physicians and the friends of the dead, whose bodies they often dig up." However, he recovered ; and by his father's orders, being twenty years of age, commenced doctor in laws, with great applause and pomp, in presence of forty-eight doctors. After which he travelled through Italy to see the antiquities, and visit the holy places there. He went to Rome by Ferrara, and returned by Loretto and Venice. To any insult offered him on the road, he returned only meekness, for which he met with remarkable blessings from heaven. The sight of the pompous remains of ancient Rome gave him a feeling contempt of worldly grandeur ; but the tombs of the martyrs drew everywhere tears of devotion from his eyes. Upon his return his father received him

with great joy at his castle of Tuille, where he had prepared for him a good library of books.

All persons were charmed with the young Count, but none so much as the great Antony Favre, afterward first president of the parliament of Chamberry, and Claudius Cranier, the learned and truly apostolic Bishop of Geneva, who already consulted him as an oracle. His father had a very good match in view for him, and obtained in his behalf, from the Duke of Savoy, patents creating him counsellor of the parliament of Chamberry. Francis modestly, but very firmly, refused both; yet durst not propose to his parents his design of receiving Holy Orders, for the tonsure was not an absolute renouncing of the world. At last he discovered it to his pious preceptor, Deage, and begged of him to mention it to his father; but this he declined, and used his utmost endeavours to dissuade the young Count from such a resolution, as he was the eldest son, and destined by the order of nature for another state. Francis answered all his reasonings, but could not prevail on him to charge himself with the commission. He then had recourse to a cousin, Lewis of Sales, a priest and canon of Geneva, who obtained the consent of his parents, but not without the greatest difficulty. His cousin also obtained for him from the Pope, without his knowledge, the provostship of the Church of Geneva, then vacant; but the young clergyman held out a long time before he would accept of it. At last he yielded, and took possession of that dignity, and was in a short time after promoted to holy orders by his diocesan, who, as soon as he was deacon, employed him in preaching. His first sermons gained him an extraordinary reputation, and were accompanied with incredible success. He delivered the Word of God with a mixture of majesty and modesty; had a strong sweet voice, and an animated manner of gesture, far from any affectation or vanity; but what chiefly affected the hearts of his hearers was the humility and unction with which he spoke from the abundance of his own heart. Before he preached he always renewed the fervour of his heart before God, by secret sighs and prayer. He studied as much at the foot of the crucifix as in books, being persuaded that the essential quality of a preacher is to be a man of prayer. He received the holy order of priesthood with extraordinary preparation and devotion, and seemed filled by it with an apostolic spirit. He every day began his functions by celebrating the holy mysteries early in the morning, in which, by his eyes and countenance of fire, the inward flames of his soul appeared. He then heard the confessions of all sorts of people, and preached. He was observed to decline with the utmost care whatever might gain him the

applause of men, seeking only to please God and to advance His glory. He chiefly resorted to cottages and country villages, instructing an infinity of poor people. His piety, his charity to the poor, his disinterestedness, his care of the sick and those in prison, endeared him to all ; but nothing was so moving as his meekness, which no provocation was ever capable of disturbing. He conversed among all as their father, with a fellow-feeling of all their wants, being all to all. He was, indeed, naturally of a hasty and passionate temper, as he himself confesses, and we find in his writing a certain fire and impetuosity which renders it unquestionable. On this account, from his youth he made meekness his favourite virtue, and by studying in the school of a God who was meek and humble of heart, he learned that important lesson to such perfection, as to convert his predominant passion into his characteristic virtue. The Calvinists ascribed principally to his meekness the wonderful conversions he made amongst them. They were certainly the most obstinate of people at that time near Geneva, yet St. Francis converted no less than seventy-two thousand of them.

Before the end of this first year of his ministry, in 1591, he erected at Annecy a confraternity of the Holy Cross, the associates of which were obliged to instruct the ignorant, to comfort and exhort the sick and prisoners, and to beware of all law-suits, which seldom fail to shipwreck Christian charity. A Calvinistical minister took occasion from this institution to write against the honour paid by Catholics to the Cross. Francis answered him by his book entitled the "Standard of the Cross." At this time, fresh matter presented itself for the exercise of the saint's zeal. The Bishop of Geneva was formerly lord of that city, paying an acknowledgment to the Duke of Savoy. While these two were disputing about the sovereignty, the Genevans expelled them both, and formed themselves into a republic in alliance with the Switzers ; and their city became the centre of Calvinism. Soon after the Protestant canton of Bern seized the country of Vaux, and the republic of Geneva, the Duchy of Chablais, with the bailiwicks of Gex, Terni, and Gaillard ; and there by violence established their heresy, which from that time had kept quiet possession for sixty years. The Duke Charles Emanuel had recovered these territories, and resolving to restore the Catholic religion, wrote in 1594 to the Bishop of Geneva, to recommend that work to him. The wise ones, according to this world, regarded the undertaking as impracticable ; and the most resolute, whether ecclesiastics or religious, were terrified at its difficulties and dangers. Francis was the only one that offered himself for the

work, and was joined by none but his cousin-german Lewis de Sales. The tears and remonstrances of his parents and friends to dissuade him from the undertaking made no impression on his courageous soul. He set out with his cousin on the 9th of September in 1594. Being arrived on the frontiers of Chablais, they sent back their horses, the more perfectly to imitate the apostles. On his arrival at Thonon, the capital of Chablais, situate on the lake of Geneva, he found in it only seven Catholics. After having commended the souls to God, and earnestly implored His mercy through the intercession of the guardian angels, and tutelar saints of the country, he was obliged to take up his quarters in the castle of Allinges, where the governor and garrison were Catholics, two leagues from Thonon, whither he went every day, visiting also the neighbouring country. The Calvinists for a long time shunned him, and some even attempted his life. Two assassins, hired by others, having missed him at Thonon, lay in wait to murder him on his return ; but a guard of soldiers had been sent to escort him safe, the conspiracy having taken wind. The saint obtained their pardon, and overcome by his lenity and formed by his holy instructions, they both became very virtuous converts. All our saint's relations, and many friends, whom he particularly respected for their great virtue and prudence, solicited him by the most pressing letters to abandon such a dangerous and fruitless enterprise. His father, to the most tender entreaties, added his positive commands to him to return home, telling him that all prudent persons called his resolution to continue his mission a foolish obstinacy and madness ; that he had already done more than was needful, and that his mother was dying of grief for his long absence, the fear of losing him entirely, and the hardships, atrocious slanders, and continual alarm and dangers in which he lived. To compel him to abandon this undertaking, the father forbade his friends to write any more to him, or to send him necessary supplies. Nevertheless St. Francis persevered, and at length his patience, zeal, and eminent virtue, wrought upon the most obdurate, and insensibly wore away their prejudices. His first converts were among the soldiers, whom he brought over, not only to the faith, but also to an entire change of manners and strict virtue, from habits of swearing, duelling, and drunkenness. He was near four years, however, without any great fruit among the inhabitants, till the year 1597, when God was pleased to touch several of them with His grace. The harvest daily increased both in town and country so plentifully, that a supply of new labourers from Annecy was necessary, and the Bishop sent some Jesuits and Capuchins to carry on the good work with Francis and

under his direction. In 1598 the public exercise of the Catholic religion was restored, and Calvinism banished by the Duke's orders over all Chablais, and the two bailiwicks of Tenri and Gaillard. Though the plague raged violently at Thonon, this did not hinder Francis either by day or night from assisting the sick in their last moments ; and God preserved him from the contagion, which seized and swept off several of his fellow-labourers. It is incredible what fatigues and hardships he underwent in the course of this mission ; with what devotion and tears he daily recommended the work of God ; with what invincible courage he braved the greatest dangers ; with what meekness and patience he bore all manner of affronts and calumnies. Baron d'Avuli, a man of quality, and of great worth and learning, highly esteemed among the Calvinists, and at Geneva, being converted by him, induced him to go thither, to have a conference with a famous minister, La Faye. The minister, during the whole conference, was ever shifting the matter in debate, as he found himself embarrassed and pressed by his antagonist. His disadvantage being so evident that he himself could read it in the countenance of everyone present, he broke off the conference by throwing out a whole torrent of injurious language on Francis, who bore it with so much meekness as not to return the least sharp answer. During the whole course of his ministry in these parts, the violent measures, base cowardice in declining all dispute, and the shameful conduct of the ministers in other respects, set the saint's behaviour and his holy cause still in a more shining light. In 1597 he was commissioned by Pope Clement VIII. to confer with Theodore Beza at Geneva, the most famous minister of the Calvinist party, in order to win him back to the Catholic Church. He accordingly paid him four visits in that city, gained a high place in that heresiarch's esteem, and made him often hesitate in deep silence, and with distracted looks, whether he should return to the Roman Catholic Church or not, wherein he owned from the beginning that salvation was attainable. St. Francis had great hopes of bringing him over in a fifth visit, but his private conferences had alarmed the Genevans so much that they guarded Beza too close for him to find admittance to him again, and Beza died soon after. 'Tis said that a little before death he lamented very much he could not see Francis. It is certain, from his first conference with him, he had ever felt a violent conflict within himself, between truth and duty on one hand, and on the other the pride of being head of a party, the shame of recanting, inveterate habits, and certain secret engagements in vice, to which he continued enslaved to the last. The invincible firmness and constancy of the saint appeared in the recovery of the revenues

of the curacies and other benefices which had been given to the orders of St. Lazarus and St. Maurice, the restoration of which after many difficulties he effected by the joint authority of the Pope and the Duke of Savoy. In 1596 he celebrated Mass on Christmas Day, in the church of St. Hippolytus at Thonon, and had then made seven or eight hundred converts. From this time he charged himself with the parish of the town, and established two other Catholic parishes in the country. In the beginning of the year 1599 he had settled zealous clergymen in all the parishes of the whole territory.

The honours the saint received from the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, the Cardinal of Medicis, and all the Church, and the high reputation which his virtues had acquired him, never made the least impression on his humble mind, dead to all motions of pride and vanity. His delight was with the poor : the most honourable functions he left to others, and chose for himself the meanest and most laborious. Every one desired to have him for their director, wherever he went ; and his extraordinary sweetness, in conjunction with his eminent piety, reclaimed as many vicious Catholics as it converted heretics. In 1599 he went to Annecy to visit his diocesan, Granier, who had procured him to be made his coadjutor. The fear of resisting God, in refusing this charge, when pressed upon him by the Pope, in conjunction with his bishop and the Duke of Savoy, at last extorted his consent ; but the apprehension of the obligations annexed to episcopacy was so strong, that it threw him into an illness which had like to cost him his life. On his recovery he set out for Rome to receive his bulls, and to confer with His Holiness on matters relating to the missions of Savoy. He was highly honoured by all the great men at Rome, and received of the Pope the bulls for being consecrated Bishop of Nicopolis, and coadjutor of Geneva. On this occasion he made a visit of devotion to Loretto, and returned to Annecy before the end of the year 1599. Here he preached the Lent the year following, and assisted his father during his last sickness, heard his general confession, and administered to him the rites of the Church. An illness he was seized with at Annecy made him defer his consecration.

On his recovery he was obliged to go to Paris on affairs of his diocese, and was received there by all sorts of persons with all the regard due to his extraordinary merit. The King was then at Fontainebleau ; but the saint was desired to preach the Lent to the court in the chapel of the Louvre. This he did in a manner that charmed every one, and wrought innumerable wonderful conversions. The Duchesses of Mercœur and Longueville sent him

thereupon a purse of gold ; he admired the embroidery, but gave it back, with thanks to them for honouring his discourses with their presence and good example. He preached a sermon against the pretended reformation, to prove it destitute of a lawful mission, it being begun at Meaux by Peter Clark, a wool-carder ; at Paris, by Masson Riviere, a young man called to the ministry by a company of laymen ; and elsewhere after the like manner. This sermon converted many Calvinists, amongst others the Countess of Perdreuville, who was one of the most obstinate learned ladies of the sect : she consulted her ministers, and repaired often to Francis's conferences, till she had openly renounced Calvinism with all her numerous family. The whole illustrious house of Raconis followed her example, and so many others even of the most inveterate of the sect, that it made Cardinal Perron, a man famous for controversy, say, "I can confute the Calvinists ; but, to persuade and convert them, you must carry them to the coadjutor of Geneva." Henry IV. was charmed with his preaching, and consulted him several times in matters relating to the direction of his conscience. There was no project of piety going forward about which he was not advised with. He promoted the establishment of the Carmelite nuns in France, and the introduction of F. Berulle's congregation of the oratory. The King himself earnestly endeavoured to detain him in France, by promises of 20,000 livres pension, and the first vacant bishopric ; but Francis said, God had called him against his will to the bishopric of Geneva, and he thought it his obligation to keep it till his death ; that the small revenue he had sufficed for his maintenance, and more would only be an encumbrance. The King was astonished at his disinterestedness when he understood that the bishopric of Geneva, since the revolt of that city, did not yield the incumbent above four or five thousand livres, that is, not two hundred and fifty-nine pounds a year.

Some envious courtiers endeavoured to give the King a suspicion of his being a spy. The saint heard this accusation just as he was going into the pulpit ; yet he preached as usual without the least concern ; and that prince was too well convinced of the calumny by his sanctity and candour. After a nine months' stay in Paris, he set out with the King's letters, and heard on the road that Granier, Bishop of Geneva, was dead. He hastened to Sales Castle, and as soon as clear of the first visits, made a twenty days' retreat to prepare himself for his consecration. He made a general confession, and laid down a plan of life, which he ever punctually observed. This was never to wear any silks or camlets, or any clothes but woollen, as before ; to have no paintings in his house but of devotions ; no magnificence in furniture ; never to use coach

or litter, but to make his visits on foot ; his family to consist of two priests, one for his chaplain, the other to take care of his temporalities and servants ; nothing but common meats to be served to his table ; to be always present at all feasts of devotion kept in any church in town ; his regulation with respect to alms was incredible for his revenues ; to go to the poor and sick in person ; to rise every day at four, make an hour's meditation, say lauds and prime, then morning prayers with his family ; to read the Scripture till seven, then say Mass, which he did every day ; afterward to apply to affairs till dinner, which being over, he allowed an hour for conversation ; the rest of the afternoon he allotted to business and prayer. After supper he read a pious book to his family for an hour, then night prayers, after which he said matins. He fasted all Fridays and Saturdays, and our Lady's eves ; he privately wore a hair-shirt, and used the discipline, but avoided all ostentatious austerities. But his exact regularity and uniformity of life, with a continual practice of interior self-denials, was the best mortification. He redoubled his fasts, austerities, and prayers, as the time of his consecration drew nearer. This was performed on the 3rd of December, 1602. He immediately applied himself to preaching and the other functions of his charge. He was exceeding cautious in conferring holy orders. He ordained but few, neither was it without the strictest scrutiny passed upon all their qualifications for the priesthood. He was very zealous, both by word and example, in promoting the instruction of the ignorant by explanations of the Catechism, on Sundays and holy days ; and his example had a great influence over the parish priest in this particular, as also over the laity, both young and old. He inculcated to all the making every hour when the clock struck the sign of the cross, with a fervent aspiration on the passion of Christ. He severely forbade the custom of valentines, or giving boys, in writing, the names of girls to be admired and attended on by them ; and, to abolish it, he changed it into giving billets with the names of certain saints for them to honour and imitate in a particular manner. He performed the visitation of his diocese as soon as possible, published a new ritual, set on foot ecclesiastical conferences, and regulated all things, choosing St. Charles Borromeo for his model.

Above all things he hated law-suits, and strictly commanded all ecclesiastics to avoid them, and refer all disputes to arbitration. He said they were such occasions of sins against charity, that, if anyone during the course of a law-suit had escaped them, that alone would suffice for his canonization. Towards the close of the visitation of his diocese, he reformed several monasteries. That of Six appealed to the parliament of Chamberry, but our



saint was supported there, and carried his point. Whilst Francis was at Six he heard that a valley, three leagues off, was in the utmost desolation, by the tops of two mountains that had fallen, and buried several villages with the inhabitants and cattle. He crawled over unpassable ways to comfort and relieve these poor people, who had neither clothes to cover, nor cottages to shelter them, nor bread to stay their hunger; he mingled his tears with theirs, relieved them, and obtained from the Duke a remission of their taxes. The city of Dijon having procured leave from the Duke of Savoy, the saint preached the Lent there in 1604, with wonderful fruit, but refused the present offered him by the city on that occasion. Being solicited by Henry IV. to accept of a considerable abbey, the saint refused, alleging that he dreaded riches as much as others could desire them; and that the less he had of them, the less he would have to answer for. That king offered to name him to the dignity of cardinal at the next promotion, but the saint made answer that though he did not despise the offered dignity, he was persuaded that great titles would not sit well upon him, and might raise fresh obstacles to his salvation. He was also thought of at Rome as a very fit person to be promoted to that dignity, but was himself the only one who everywhere opposed and crossed the design. Being desired on another occasion by the same king to accept of a pension, the saint begged his majesty to suffer it to remain in the hands of his comptroller till he should call for it, which handsome refusal much astonished that great prince, who could not forbear saying that the Bishop of Geneva, by the happy independence in which his virtue had placed him, was as far above him, as he, by his royal dignity, was above his subjects. The saint preached the next Lent at Chamberry, at the request of the parliament, which, notwithstanding, at that very time seized his temporalities for refusing to publish a monitory at its request, the saint alleging that it was too trifling an affair, and that the censures of the Church were to be used more reservedly. To the notification of the seizure he only answered obligingly that he thanked God for teaching him by it that a bishop is to be altogether spiritual. He neither desisted from preaching nor complained to the Duke, but heaped most favours on such as most insulted him, till the parliament being ashamed, granted him of their own accord a replevy. But the great prelate found more delight in preaching in small villages than amidst such applause, though he everywhere met with the like fruit, and he looked on the poor as the object of his particular care. He took a poor dumb and deaf man into his family, taught him by signs, and by them received his confession. His steward often found it difficult

to provide for his family by reason of his great alms, and used to threaten to leave him. The saint would answer, "You say right, I am an incorrigible creature, and what is worse, I look as if I should long continue so." Or at other times, pointing to the crucifix, "How can we deny anything to a God who reduced Himself to this condition for the love of us!"

Pope Paul V. ordered our saint to be consulted about the school dispute between the Dominicans and Jesuits on the grace of God, or *de auxiliis*. His opinion appears from his book "*On the Love of God*," but he answered His Holiness in favour of neutrality, which he ever observed in school opinions; complaining often in how many they occasioned the breach of charity, and spent too much of their precious time, which, by being otherwise employed, might be rendered more conducive to God's honour. In 1609 he went to Bellay, and consecrated Bishop John Peter Camus, one of the most illustrious prelates of the Church of France, and linked to our saint by the strictest bands of holy friendship. He wrote the book entitled, "*The Spirit of St. Francis of Sales*," consisting of many of his ordinary sayings and actions, in which his spirit shines with great advantage, discovering a perpetual recollection always absorbed in God, and a constant overflowing of sweetness and divine love. His writings to this day breathe the same; every word distils that love and meekness with which his heart was filled. It is this which makes his epistles, which we have to the number of five hundred and twenty-nine, in seven books, to be an inestimable treasure of moving instructions, suitable to all sorts of persons and circumstances.

His incomparable book, the "*Introduction to a Devout Life*," was originally letters to a lady in the world, which, at the pressing instances of many friends, he formed into a book and finished, to show that devotion suited Christians in a secular life, no less than in cloisters. Villars, the Archbishop of Vienna, wrote to him upon it: "Your book charms, inflames, and puts me in raptures, as often as I open any part of it." The author received the like applause and commendations from all parts, and it was immediately translated into all the languages of Europe. Henry IV. of France was extremely pleased with it; his queen, Mary of Medicis, sent it richly bound and adorned with jewels to James I. of England, who was wonderfully taken with it, and asked his bishops why none of them could write with such feeling and unction. There was however one religious order in which this book was much censured, as if it had allowed of gallantry and scurrilous jests, and approved of balls and comedies, which was very far from the saint's doctrine. A preacher of that order had the rashness and pre-

sumption to declaim bitterly against the book in a public sermon, to cut it in pieces, and burn it in the very pulpit. The saint bore this outrage without the least resentment, so perfectly was he dead to self-love. This appears more wonderful to those who know how jealous authors are of their works, as the offspring of their reason and judgment, of which men are of all things the fondest. His book, "Of the Love of God," cost him much more reading, study, and meditation. In it he paints his own soul. He describes the feeling sentiments of divine love, its state of fervour, of dryness, of trials, suffering, and darkness, in explaining which he calls in philosophy to his assistance. He writes on this sublime subject what he had learned by his own experience. Some parts of this book are only to be understood by those souls who have gone through these states, yet the author has been ever justly admired for the performance. The general of the Carthusians had wrote to him upon his Introduction, advising him to write no more, because nothing else could equal that book. But seeing this, he bade him never cease writing, because his latter works always surpassed the former ; and James I. was so delighted with the book, that he expressed a great desire to see the author. This being told the saint, he cried out : " Ah ! who will give me the wings of a dove, and I will fly to the King, into that great island, formerly the country of saints ; but now overwhelmed with the darkness of error. If the Duke will permit me, I will arise, and go to that great Ninive : I will speak to the King, and will announce to him, with the hazard of my life, the Word of the Lord." In effect, he solicited the Duke of Savoy's consent, but could never obtain it. That jealous sovereign feared lest he should be drawn in to serve another state, or sell to some other his right to Geneva, on which account he often refused him leave to go to preach in France, when invited by many cities. His other works are sermons which are not finished as they were preached, except perhaps that on the Invention of the Cross. We have also his Preparation for Mass ; his Instructions for Confessors ; a collection of his Maxims, pious breathings, and sayings, wrote by the Bishop of Bellay ; some Fragments and his Entertainments to his nuns of the Visitation, in which he recommends to them the most perfect interior self-denial, a disengagement of affections from all things temporal, and obedience. The institution of that order may be read in the life of B. Frances Chantal. St. Francis designing his new order to be such, that all, even the sickly and weak, might be admitted into it, he chose for it the rule of St. Austin, as commanding few extraordinary bodily austerities, and would have it possess funds and settlements in common to prevent being carried off from the

interior life by anxious cares about necessities. But then he requires from each person so strict a practice of poverty, as to allow no one the propriety or even the long use of anything; and orders them every year to change chambers, beds, crosses, beads, and books. He will have no manner of account to be made of birth, wit, or talents; but only of humility: he obliges them only to the little office of our Lady, which all might easily learn to understand; meditations, spiritual reading, recollection, and retreats, abundantly compensating the defect. All his regulations tend to instil a spirit of piety, charity, meekness, and simplicity. He subjects his order to the bishop of each place, without any general. Pope Paul V. approved it, and erected the congregation of the Visitation into a religious order.

St. Francis, finding his health decline and his affairs to multiply, after having consulted Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, chose for his coadjutor in the bishopric of Geneva his brother John Francis of Sales, who was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon at Turin, in 1618. But the saint still applied himself to his functions as much as ever. He preached the Lent at Grenoble in 1617, and again in 1618, with his usual conquests of souls, converting many Calvinists, and among these the Duke of Lesdiguières. In 1619, he accompanied to Paris the Cardinal of Savoy, to demand the sister of King Lewis XIII., Christina of France, in marriage for the Prince of Piedmont. He preached the Lent in St. André-des-Arcs, and had always such a numerous audience that cardinals, bishops, and princes, could scarce find room. His sermons and conferences, and still more the example of his holy life, and the engaging sweetness of his conversation most powerfully moved not only the devout, but also heretics, libertines, and atheists, whilst his eloquence and learning convinced their understandings. The Bishop of Bellay tells us that he entreated the saint at Paris not to preach twice every day, morning and evening, for the sake of his health. St. Francis answered him with a smile that it cost him much less to preach a sermon than to find an excuse for himself when invited to perform that function. He added, "God has appointed me a pastor and a preacher, and is not every one to follow his profession? But I am surprised that the people in this great city flock so eagerly to my sermons, for my tongue is slow and heavy, my conceptions low, and my discourses flat, as you yourself are witness." "Do you imagine," said the other, "that eloquence is what they seek in your discourses? It is enough for them to see you in the pulpit. Your heart speaks to them by your countenance, and by your eyes, were you only to say the 'Our Father' with them.

The most common words in your mouth, burning with the fire of charity, pierce and melt all hearts. There is I know not what so extraordinary in what you say, that every word is of weight, every word strikes deep into the heart. You have said everything even when you seem to have said nothing. You are possessed of a kind of eloquence which is of heaven ; the power of this is astonishing." St. Francis, smiling, turned off the discourse. The match being concluded, the Princess Christina chose Francis for her chief almoner, desiring to live always under his direction, but all her entreaties could neither prevail on him to leave his diocese, though he had a coadjutor, nor to accept of a pension ; and it was only on these two conditions he undertook the charge, always urging that nothing could dispense with him from residence. The Princess made him a present of a rich diamond, by way of an investiture, desiring him to keep it for her sake. "I will," said he, "unless the poor stand in need of it." She answered, she would then redeem it. He said, "This will happen so often, that I shall abuse your bounty." Finding it given to the poor afterward at Turin, she gave him another richer, charging him to keep that at least. He said, "Madam, I cannot promise you : I am very unfit to keep things of value." Inquiring after it one day, she was told it was always in pawn for the poor, and that the diamond belonged not to the Bishop, but to all the beggars of Geneva. He had indeed a heart which was not able to refuse anything to those in want. He often gave to beggars the waistcoat off his own back, and sometimes the cruets of his chapel. The pious Cardinal, Henry de Gondi, Bishop of Paris, used all manner of arguments to obtain his consent to be his coadjutor in the see of Paris ; but he was resolved never to quit the church which God had first committed to his charge.

Upon his return to Annecy he would not touch a farthing of his revenue for the eighteen months he was absent ; but gave it to his cathedral, saying it could not be his, for he had not earned it. He applied himself to preaching, instructing, and hearing confessions with greater zeal than ever. In a plague which raged there, he daily exposed his own life to assist his flock. The saint often met with injurious treatment, and very reviling words, which he ever repaid with such meekness and beneficence as never failed to gain his very enemies. A lewd wretch, exasperated against him for his zeal against a wicked harlot, forged a letter of intrigue in the holy prelate's name, which made him pass for a profligate and a hypocrite with the Duke of Nemours and many others ; the calumny reflected also on the nuns of the Visitation. Two years after, the author of it lying on his death-bed, called in witnesses,

publicly justified the saint, and made an open confession of the slander and forgery. The saint had ever an entire confidence in the divine providence, was ever full of joy, and resigned to all the appointments of Heaven, to which he committed all events. He had a sovereign contempt of all earthly things, whether riches, honours, dangers, or sufferings. He considered only God and His honour in all things : his soul perpetually breathed nothing but His love and praises ; nor would he contain this fire within his breast, for it discovered itself in his countenance, which, especially whilst he said Mass, or distributed the Blessed Eucharist, appeared shining, as it were, with rays of glory, and breathing holy fervour. Often he could not contain himself in his conversation, and would thus express himself to his intimate friends : “ Did you but know how God treats my heart, you would thank His goodness, and beg for me the strength to execute the inspirations which He communicates to me. My heart is filled with an inexpressible desire to be for ever sacrificed to the pure and holy love of my Saviour. Oh ! it is good to live, to labour, to rejoice only in God. By His grace I will for evermore be nothing to any creature ; nor shall any creature be anything to me but in Him and for Him.” At another time he cried out to a devout friend, “ Oh ! if I knew but one string of my heart which was not all God’s, I would instantly tear it out. Yes ; if I knew that there was one thread in my heart which was not marked with the crucifix, I would not keep it one moment.”

In the year 1622 he received an order from the Duke of Savoy to go to Avignon to wait on Lewis XIII., who had just finished the civil wars in Languedoc. Finding himself indisposed, he took his last leave of his friends, saying he should see them no more, which drew from them floods of tears. At Avignon he was at his prayers during the King’s triumphant entry, and never went to the window to see any part of that great pomp. He was obliged to attend the King and the Cardinal of Savoy to Lyons, where he refused all the grand apartments offered him by the intendant of the province and others, to lodge in the poor chamber of the gardener to the monastery of the Visitation, as he was never better pleased than when he could most imitate the poverty of his Saviour. He received from the King and queen-mother, and from all the princes, the greatest marks of honour and esteem ; and though indisposed, continued to preach and perform all his functions, especially on Christmas Day, and St. John’s in the morning. After dinner he began to fall gradually into an apoplexy, was put to bed by his servant, and received extreme unction ; but as he had said Mass that day, and his vomiting continued, it was thought

proper not to give him the viaticum. He repeated with great fervour, "My heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God ; I will sing the mercies of the Lord to all eternity. When shall I appear before His face ? Show me, my beloved, where Thou feedest, where Thou restest at noonday. O my God, my desire is before Thee, and my sighs are not hidden from Thee. My God and my all ! my desire is that of the hills eternal." Whilst the physicians applied blistering plasters, and hot irons behind his neck, and a caustic to the crown of his head, which burned him to the bone, he shed abundance of tears under excess of pain, repeating "*Wash me, O Lord, from my iniquities, and cleanse me from my sin. Still cleanse me more and more.*" What do I here, my God, distant from Thee, separated from Thee ?" And to those about him, "Weep not, my children ; must not the will of God be done ?" One suggesting to him the prayer of St. Martin, "If I am still necessary for Thy people, I refuse not to labour," he seemed troubled at being compared to so great a saint, and said he was an unprofitable servant, whom neither God nor His people needed. His apoplexy increasing, though slowly, he seemed at last to lose his senses, and happily expired on the Feast of Holy Innocents, the 28th of December, at eight o'clock at night, in the year 1622, the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the twentieth of his episcopacy. His corpse was embalmed, and carried with the greatest pomp to Annecy, where he had directed by will it should be interred. It was laid in a magnificent tomb near the high altar in the church of the first monastery of the Visitation. After his beatification by Alexander VII. in 1661, it was placed upon the altar in a rich silver shrine. He was canonized in 1665 by the same pope, and his feast fixed to the 29th of January, on which day his body was conveyed to Annecy. His heart was kept in a leaden case, in the church of the Visitation at Lyons ; it was afterward exposed in a silver one, and lastly in one of gold, given by King Lewis XIII. Many miracles, as the raising to life two persons who were drowned, the curing of the blind, paralytic, and others, were authentically attested to have been wrought by his relics and intercession, not to mention those he had performed in his life-time, especially during his missions. Pope Alexander VII., then Cardinal Chigi, and plenipotentiary in Germany, Lewis XIII., XIV., and others attributed their cures in sickness to this saint's patronage.

Among his ordinary remarkable sayings, we read that he often repeated to Bishop Camus "that truth must be always charitable ; for bitter zeal does harm instead of good. Reprehensions are a food of hard digestion, and ought to be dressed on a fire of

burning charity so well that all harshness be taken off ; otherwise, like unripe fruit, they will only produce gripings. Charity seeks not itself nor its own interests, but purely the honour and interest of God ; pride, vanity, and passion cause bitterness and harshness ; a remedy injudiciously applied may be a poison. A judicious silence is always better than a truth spoken without charity." St. Francis, seeing a scandalous priest thrown into prison, fell at his feet, and with tears conjured him to have compassion on him, his pastor, on his religion which he scandalized, and on his own soul, which sweetness converted the other, so that he became an example of virtue. By his patience and meekness under all injuries, he overcame the most obstinate, and ever after treated them with singular affection, calling them dearer friends, because regained. A great prelate observes from his example, that the meek are kings of other hearts which they powerfully attract, and can turn as they please, and in an express and excellent treatise, proposes him as an accomplished model of all the qualifications requisite in a superior to govern well.

Meekness was the favourite virtue of St. Francis de Sales. He once was heard to say that he had employed three years in studying it in the school of Jesus Christ, and that his heart was still far from being satisfied with the progress he had made. If he who was meekness itself imagined, nevertheless, that he had possessed so little of it, what shall we say of those who, upon every trifling occasion, betray the bitterness of their hearts in angry words and actions of impatience and outrage ? Our saint was often tried in the practice of this virtue, especially when the hurry of business and the crowds that thronged on him for relief in their various necessities scarce allowed him a moment to breathe. He has left us his thoughts upon this situation, which his extreme affability rendered very frequent to him. "God," says he, "makes use of this occasion to try whether our hearts are sufficiently strengthened to bear every attack. I have myself been sometimes in this situation ; but I have made a covenant with my heart and with my tongue, in order to confine them within the bounds of duty. I considered those persons who crowd in one upon the other as children who run into the embraces of their father : as the hen refuseth not protection to her little ones when they gather around her, but, on the contrary, extendeth her wings so as to cover them all ; my heart, I thought, was in like manner expanded, in proportion as the numbers of these poor people increased. The most powerful remedy against sudden starts of impatience is a sweet and amiable silence ; however little one speaks, self-love will have a share in it, and some word will escape that may sour the heart, and



disturb its peace for a considerable time. When nothing is said, and cheerfulness preserved, the storm subsides, anger and indiscretion are put to flight, and nothing remains but a joy, pure and lasting. The person who possesses Christian meekness is affectionate and tender towards every one; he is disposed to forgive and excuse the frailties of others; the goodness of his heart appears in a sweet affability that influences his words and actions, and presents every object to his view in the most charitable and pleasing light; he never admits in his discourse any harsh expression, much less any term that is haughty or rude. An amiable serenity is always painted on his countenance, which remarkably distinguishes him from those violent characters who, with looks full of fury, know only how to refuse; or who, when they grant, do it with so bad a grace, that they lose all the merit of the favour they bestow."

Some persons thinking him too indulgent towards sinners, expressed their thoughts one day with freedom to him on this head; he immediately replied, "If there was anything more excellent than meekness, God would have certainly taught it us; and yet there is nothing to which He so earnestly exhorts us, as to be *meek and humble of heart*. Why would you hinder me to obey the command of my Lord, and follow Him in the exercise of that virtue which He so eminently practised and so highly esteems? Are we then better informed in these matters than God Himself?" But his tenderness was particularly displayed in the reception of apostates and other abandoned sinners; when these prodigals returned to him, he said, with all the sensibility of a father, "Come, my dear children, come, let me embrace you; ah, let me hide you in the bottom of my heart! God and I will assist you; all I require of you is not to despair: I shall take on myself the labour of the rest." Looks full of compassion and love expressed the sincerity of his feelings; his affectionate and charitable care of them extended even to their bodily wants, and his purse was open to them as well as his heart; he justified this proceeding to some who, disedified at his extreme indulgence, told him it served only to encourage the sinner, and harden him still more in his crimes, by observing, "Are they not a part of my flock? Has not our Blessed Lord given them His blood, and shall I refuse them my tears? These wolves will be changed into lambs: a day will come when, cleansed from their sins, they will be more precious in the sight of God than we are: if Saul had been cast off, we would never have had a St. Paul."

## SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER, C.,

APOSTLE OF THE INDIES.

A.D. 1552.

A CHARGE to go and preach to all nations was given by Christ to His apostles. This commission the pastors of the Church have faithfully executed down to this present time ; and in every age have men been raised by God, and filled with His Holy Spirit for the discharge of this important function, who, being sent by the authority of Christ and in His Name by those who have succeeded the apostles in the government of His Church, have brought new nations to the fold of Christ for the advancement of the divine honour and filling up the number of the saints. This conversion of nations according to the divine commission is the prerogative of the Catholic Church, in which it has never had any rival. Among those who in the sixteenth century laboured most successfully in this great work, the most illustrious was St. Francis Xavier, the Thaumaturgus of these latter ages, whom Urban VIII. justly styled the Apostle of the Indies. This great saint was born in Navarre, at the castle of Xavier, eight leagues from Pampelona, in 1506. His mother was heiress of the two illustrious houses of Azpilcueta and Xavier, and his father, Don John de Jasso, was one of the chief counsellors of state to John III. d'Albret, King of Navarre. Among their numerous family of children, of whom Francis was the youngest, those that were elder bore the surname of Azpilcueta, the younger that of Xavier. Francis was instructed in the Latin tongue, under domestic masters, and grounded in religious principles in the bosom of his pious parents. From his infancy he was of a complying, winning humour, and discovered a good genius and a great propensity to learning, to which of his own motion he turned himself, whilst all his brothers embraced the profession of arms. His inclinations determined his parents to send him to Paris in the eighteenth year of his age, where he entered the college of St. Barbara, and commencing a course of scholastic philosophy, with incessant pains and incredible ardour,

surmounted the first difficulties of the crabbed and subtle questions with which the entrance of logic was paved. His faculties were hereby opened, and his penetration and judgment exceedingly improved ; and the applause which he received agreeably flattered his vanity, which passion he was not aware of, persuading himself that to raise his fortune in the world was a commendable pursuit. Having studied philosophy two years, he proceeded master of arts ; then taught philosophy at Beauvais college, though he still lived in that of St. Barbara.

St. Ignatius came to Paris in 1528 with a view to finish his studies, and after some time entered himself pensioner in the college of St. Barbara. This holy man had conceived a desire of forming a society wholly devoted to the salvation of souls ; and being taken with the qualifications of Peter Faber, called in French *Le Fevre*, a Savoyard, and Francis Xavier, who had been school-fellows, and still lived in the same college, endeavoured to gain their concurrence in this holy project. Faber, who was not enamoured of the world, resigned himself without opposition. But Francis, whose head was full of ambitious thoughts, made a long and vigorous resistance, and bantered and rallied Ignatius on all occasions, ridiculing the meanness and poverty in which he lived as a degenerate lowness of soul. Ignatius repaid his contempt with meekness and kindness, and continued to repeat sometimes to him : *What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?* This made no impression on one who was dazzled with vain-glory, and, under pretences, joined false maxims of worldly decency in his idea of Christian virtue. Ignatius assailing him on the weaker side, often congratulated with him for his talents and learning, applauded his lectures, and made it his business to procure him scholars ; also on a certain occasion when he was in necessity he furnished him with money. Francis, having a generous soul, was moved with gratitude and considered that Ignatius was of great birth, and that only the fear of God had inspired him with the choice of the life which he led. He began therefore to look upon Ignatius with other eyes, and to hearken to his discourses. At that time certain emissaries of the Lutherans secretly scattered their errors among the students at Paris, in so dexterous a manner as to make them appear plausible, and Xavier, who was naturally curious, took pleasure in hearing these novelties, till Ignatius put him upon his guard. Some time after this, having one day found Xavier more than ordinarily attentive, he repeated to him these words more forcibly than ever : *What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?* and remonstrated that so noble a soul ought not to confine itself to the

vain honours of this world, that celestial glory was the only object for his ambition, and that it was against reason not to prefer that which is eternally to last before what vanishes like a dream. Xavier then began to see the emptiness of earthly greatness, and to find himself powerfully touched with the love of heavenly things. Yet it was not without many serious thoughts and grievous struggles that his soul was overcome by the power of those eternal truths, and he took a resolution of squaring his life entirely by the most perfect maxims of the Gospel. For this purpose, he gave himself up to the conduct of Ignatius, and the direction of so enlightened a guide made the paths of perfection easy to him. From his new master he learned that the first step in his conversion was to subdue his predominant passion, and that vain-glory was his most dangerous enemy. His main endeavours, therefore, were bent from that time to humble himself, and confound his pride. And, well knowing that the interior victory over our own heart and its passions is not to be gained without mortifying the flesh, and bringing the senses into subjection, he undertook this conquest by hair cloth, fasting, and other austerities.

When the time of the vacancy was come, in 1535, he performed St. Ignatius's spiritual exercises, in which such was his fervour, that he passed four days without taking any nourishment, and his mind was taken up day and night in the contemplation of heavenly things. By these meditations, which sunk deep into his soul, he was wholly changed into another man in his desires, affections, and views, so that afterward he did not know himself, and the humility of the cross appeared to him more amiable than all the glories of this world. In the most profound sentiments of compunction, he made a general confession, and formed a design of glorifying God by all possible means, and of employing his whole life for the salvation of souls. The course of philosophy which he read, and which had lasted three years and a half, according to the custom of those times, being completed, by the counsel of Ignatius, he entered on the study of divinity. In 1534, on the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, St. Ignatius and his six companions, of whom Francis was one, made a vow at Montmartre to visit the Holy Land, and unite their labours for the conversion of the infidels; or, if this should be found not practicable, to cast themselves at the feet of the Pope, and offer their services wherever he thought fit to employ them. Three others afterward joined these six, and having ended their studies the year following, these nine companions departed from Paris upon the 15th of November, in 1536, to go to Venice, where St. Ignatius had agreed to meet them from Spain. They travelled all through Germany on foot,

loaded with their writings, in the midst of winter, which that year was very sharp and cold. Xavier, to overcome his passions, and punish himself for the vanity he had formerly taken in leaping (for he was very active, and had been fond of such corporal exercises), in the fervency of his soul, had tied his arms and thighs with little cords, which, by his travelling, swelled his thighs, and sunk so deep into the flesh as to be hardly visible. The saint bore the pain with incredible patience, till he fainted on the road; and, not being able to go any farther, was obliged to discover the reason. His companions carried him to the next town, where the surgeon declared that no incision could be safely made deep enough, and that the evil was incurable. In this melancholy situation Faber, Laynez, and the rest spent that night in prayer; and the next morning Xavier found the cords broken out of the flesh. The holy company joined in actions of thanksgiving to the Almighty, and cheerfully pursued their journey, in which Xavier served the rest on all occasions, being always beforehand with them in the duties of charity. They arrived at Venice on the 8th of January, 1537, and were much comforted to meet there St. Ignatius, by whose direction they divided themselves to serve the poor in two hospitals in that city, whilst they waited for an opportunity to embark for Palestine.

Xavier, who was placed in the hospital of the incurables, employed the day in dressing the sores of the sick, in making their beds, and serving them in meaner offices, and passed whole nights in watching by them. It was his delight chiefly to attend those who were sick of contagious distempers, or infected with loathsome ulcers. Amongst these, one had an ulcer which was horrible to the sight, and the noisomeness of the stench was yet more insupportable. Every one shunned him, and Xavier found a great repugnance in himself when he first approached him. But, reflecting that the occasion of making a great sacrifice was too precious to be lost, he embraced the sick person, applied his mouth to the ulcer, and sucked out the purulent matter. At the same moment his repugnance vanished; and, by this signal victory over himself, he obtained the grace that, from that time, no ulcers, how filthy and fetid soever, caused in him any loathing, but rather a sweet devotion: of so great importance it is to us once to have thoroughly overcome ourselves, and overcome the proud giant of sensuality, or vanity; whilst remiss acts, performed with sloth, unwillingness, and a false delicacy, rather fortify than vanquish the enemy. And it is more the resolution of the will than the action itself that subdues it. Two months had passed away in these exercises of charity, when St. Ignatius, who stayed behind alone at

Venice, sent his companions to Rome, to ask the blessing of His Holiness Paul III. for their intended voyage. The Pope granted those among them, who were not in holy orders, a license to receive them at the hands of any Catholic bishop. Upon their return to Venice, Xavier was ordained priest upon St. John Baptist's Day, in 1537, and they all made vows of chastity and poverty before the Pope's nuncio. Xavier retired to a village about four miles from Padua, where, to prepare himself for saying his first Mass, he spent forty days in a poor, ruined, abandoned cottage, exposed to all the injuries of the weather, lay on the ground, fasted rigorously, and subsisted on what scraps of bread he begged from door to door. St. Ignatius having caused all his company to resort to Vicenza, Xavier, after this retreat, repaired thither, and said there his first Mass with tears flowing in such abundance that his audience could not refrain from mixing their own with his. By order of St. Ignatius, he applied himself to the exercises of charity and devotion at Bologna, to the great edification of that city. The house in which he there dwelt as a poor man was afterward given to the society, and converted into an oratory of great devotion.

In Lent, in 1538, our saint was called by St. Ignatius to Rome, where the Fathers assembled together to deliberate about the foundation of their order, and their consultations were accompanied with fervent prayers, tears, watchings, and penitential austerities, which they practised with a most ardent desire of pleasing Our Lord alone, and of seeking in all things His greater glory and the good of souls. After waiting a whole year to find an opportunity of passing into Palestine, and finding the execution of that design impracticable, on account of the war between the Venetians and the Turks, St. Ignatius and his company offered themselves to His Holiness, to be employed as he should judge most expedient in the service of their neighbour. The Pope accepted their offer, and ordered them to preach and instruct in Rome till he should otherwise employ them. St. Francis exercised his functions in the church of St. Laurence, in Damaso, in which he appeared so active that no one distinguished himself by a more ardent charity, or a more edifying zeal. Govea, a Portuguese, formerly president of the college of St. Barbara at Paris, happened to be then at Rome, whither John III., King of Portugal, had sent him on some important business. He had formerly known Ignatius, Xavier, and Faber at Paris, and been a great admirer of their virtue; and he became more so at Rome, insomuch that he wrote to his master that men so learned, humble, charitable, inflamed with zeal, indefatigable in labour, lovers of the Cross, and who aimed at nothing

but the honour of God, were fit to be sent to plant the faith in the East Indies. The King therefore wrote to Don Pedro Mascaregnas, his ambassador at Rome, and ordered him to obtain six of these apostolic men for this mission. St. Ignatius could grant him only two, and pitched upon Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese, and Nicholas Bobadilla, a Spaniard. The former went immediately by sea to Lisbon; Bobadilla, who waited to accompany the ambassador, fell sick, and, by an overruling supernatural direction, Francis Xavier was substituted in his room, on the day before the ambassador began his journey. Our saint received this order with joy, and when he went to ask the benediction of Paul III. there shone, through a profound humility, such a magnanimity of soul, that His Holiness took from thence a certain presage of the wonderful events which followed. The saint left Rome with the ambassador on the 15th of March, 1540, and on the road found perpetual occasions for the most heroic actions of humility, mortification, charity, zeal, and piety, and was always ready to serve his fellow-travellers in the meanest offices, as if he had been everybody's servant. The journey was performed all the way by land, over the Alps and Pyreneans, and took up more than three months. At Pampelona the ambassador pressed the saint to go to the castle of Xavier, which was but a little distant from the road, to take leave of his mother, who was yet living, and of his other friends, whom he would probably nevermore see in this world. But the saint would by no means turn out of the road, saying that he deferred the sight of his relations till he should visit them in heaven; that this transient view would be accompanied with melancholy and sadness, the products of last farewells; whereas their meeting in heaven would be for eternity, and without the least alloy of sorrow. This wonderful disengagement from the world exceedingly affected Mascaregnas, who, by the saintly example and instructions of the holy man, was converted to a new course of life.

They arrived at Lisbon about the end of June, and Francis went immediately to F. Rodriguez, who was lodged in an hospital, in order to attend and instruct the sick. They made this place their ordinary abode, but catechised and instructed in most parts of the town, and were taken up all Sundays and holidays in hearing confessions at court, for the King and a great number of the courtiers were engaged by their discourses to confess and communicate every week, which they chose to do at their hands. F. Rodriguez was retained by the King at Lisbon, and St. Francis was obliged to stay there eight months, while the fleet was getting ready to sail in spring. Dr. Martin d'Azpilcueta, commonly called the doctor of Navarre, who was uncle to Xavier by the

mother's side, was then chief professor of divinity at Coimbra, and wrote several letters to our saint, but could not engage him to go to Coimbra. St. Francis, when he left Rome, put a memorial in the hands of F. Laynez, in which he declared that he approved the rules which should be drawn up by Ignatius, and consecrated himself to God, by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, in the Society of Jesus, when it should be confirmed as a religious order by the apostolic see. At Lisbon, before he went on board, the King delivered to him four briefs from the Pope, in two of which His Holiness constituted Xavier apostolic nuncio, with ample power and authority; in the third, he recommended him to David, Emperor of Ethiopia; and, in the fourth, to other princes in the East. No importunities of the King or his officers could prevail on the saint to accept of any provisions or necessities, except a few books for the use of converts. Nor would he consent to have a servant, saying, that as long as he had the use of his two hands, he never would take one. When he was told that it would be unbecoming to see an apostolic legate dressing his own victuals, and washing his own linen on deck, he said he could give no scandal so long as he did no ill. The saint had two companions to the Indies, F. Paul de Camarino, an Italian Jesuit, and Francis Mansilla, a Portuguese, who was not yet in priest's orders. F. Simon Rodriguez bore them company to the fleet, and then it was that St. Francis, embracing him, said that at Rome, in the hospital, he once beheld, whether sleeping or waking he knew not, all that he was to suffer for the glory of Jesus Christ; and that he there conceived so great a delight in sufferings, that he cried out aloud, "Yet more, O Lord, yet more!" Which words this F. Rodriguez, who was then in the same chamber, heard, and had often pressed him to explain the meaning of. This the saint did upon his taking leave, adding, "I hope the divine Goodness will grant me in India what He has foreshown to me in Italy."

The saint set sail on the 7th of April, in the year 1541, the thirty-sixth of his age, on board the Admiral's vessel, which carried Don Martin Alfonso de Sousa, general-governor of the Indies, who went with five ships to take possession of his government. The Admiral's vessel contained at least a thousand persons, whom Francis considered as committed to his care. He catechized the sailors, preached every Sunday before the main-mast, took care of the sick, converted his cabin into an infirmary, lay on the deck, and lived on charity during the whole voyage, though the governor was very urgent with him to eat at his table, or accept of a regular supply of food from his kitchen; but he always answered that he was a poor religious man, and that, having



made a vow of poverty, he was resolved to keep it. He, indeed, received the dishes which the governor sent him from his table ; but divided the meat amongst those who had most need. He composed differences, quelled murmuring, checked swearing and gaming, and took the utmost care to remove all disorders. Bad actions he reprov'd with so much authority that nobody resisted him, and with so much sweetness and tender love that no one was offended at him. The insufferable colds of Cape Verd, the heats of Guinea, the stench of the fresh waters, and the putrefaction of their flesh provisions under the line, produced pestilential fevers and violent scurvies. After five months of perpetual navigation, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, they arrived at Mozambique, on the eastern coast of Africa, about the end of August, and there they wintered. The inhabitants are mostly Mahometans, and trade with the Arabs and Ethiopians ; but the Portuguese have settlements among them. The air is very unwholesome, and Xavier himself fell sick there ; but was almost recovered when the Admiral again put to sea in a fresh vessel, which made better sail, on the 15th of March, in 1542. In three days they arrived at Melinda, a town of the Saracens, in Africa, where one of the principal inhabitants complained to Xavier that so little sense of religion was left among them, that of seventeen mosques which they had, fourteen were quite forsaken, and the three that remained were little frequented. Leaving this place, after a few days' sail they touched at the Isle Socotora, over against the strait of Mecca. Thence crossing the Sea of Arabia and India, they landed at Goa on the 6th of May, in 1542, in the thirteenth month since their setting out from Lisbon.

After St. Francis was landed he went immediately to the hospital, and there took his lodging ; but would not enter upon his missionary functions till he had paid his respects to the Bishop of Goa, whose name was John d'Albuquerque, and who was a most virtuous prelate. The saint presented to him the briefs of Paul III., declared that he pretended not to use them without his approbation, and, casting himself at his feet, begged his blessing. The Bishop was struck with the venerable air of sanctity that appeared in his countenance and deportment, raised him up, kissed the briefs, and promised to support him by his episcopal authority, which he failed not to do. To call down the blessing of Heaven on his labours, St. Francis consecrated most of the night to prayer. The situation in which religion then was in those parts was such as called forth his zeal and his tears. Among the Portuguese revenge, ambition, avarice, usury, and debauchery seemed to have extinguished in many the sentiments of their holy religion ; the

sacraments were neglected ; there were not four preachers in all the Indies, nor any priests without the walls of Goa. The Bishop's exhortations and threats were despised, and no dam was sufficient to stem such a deluge. The infidels resembled rather beasts than men, and the few who were come over to the faith, not being supported by competent instructions, nor edified by example, relapsed into all their ancient manners and superstitions. Such was the deplorable situation of those countries when St. Francis Xavier appeared among them as a new star, to enlighten so many infidel nations. So powerful was the word of God in his mouth, and such the fruit of his zeal, that in the space of ten years he established the empire of Jesus Christ in a new world. Nothing more sensibly afflicted him at his arrival at Goa than the scandalous deportment of the Christians, who lived in direct opposition to the Gospel which they professed, and by their manners alienated the infidels from the faith ; he therefore thought it would be best to open his mission with them. In order to compass a general reformation, he began by instructing them in the principles of religion, and forming the youth to the practice of sincere piety. Having spent the morning in assisting and comforting the distressed in the hospitals and prisons, he walked through all the streets of Goa with a bell in his hand, summoning all masters, for the love of God, to send their children and slaves to catechism. The little children gathered together in crowds about him, and he led them to the church, and taught them the Creed and practices of devotion, and impressed on their tender minds strong sentiments of piety and religion. By the modesty and devotion of the youth the whole town began to change its face, and the most abandoned sinners began to blush at vice. After some time, the saint preached in public, and made his visits to private houses ; and the sweetness of his behaviour and words, and his charitable concern for the souls of his neighbours, were irresistible. Sinners were struck with the horror of their crimes, and throwing themselves at his feet, confessed them with bitter compunction of heart, and the fruits of penitence which accompanied their tears were the certain proofs of the sincerity of their conversions. Usurious bonds were cancelled, restitution was made of unjust gains, slaves who had been unjustly acquired were set at liberty, concubines dismissed, or lawfully married, and families were well regulated.

The reformation of the whole city of Goa was accomplished in half a year, when the saint was informed that on the coast of La Pescaria, or the Pearl Fishery, which is extended from Cape Comorin to the isle of Manar, on the eastern side of the peninsula, there were certain people called Paravas, that is, Fishers, who some

time ago, in order to please the Portuguese who had succoured them against the Moors, had caused themselves to be baptized, but, for want of instructions, retained their superstitions and vices. Xavier had by this time got a little acquaintance with the Malabar language, which is spoke on that coast, and, taking with him two young ecclesiastics who understood it competently well, embarked in October, in 1542, and sailed to Cape Comorin, which faces the isle of Ceylon, and is about six hundred miles from Goa. Here St. Francis went into a village full of idolaters, and preached Jesus Christ to them ; but the inhabitants told him they could not change their religion without the leave of their lord. Their obstinacy, however, yielded to the force of miracles by which God was pleased to manifest His truth to them. A woman who had been three days in the pains of child-birth, without being eased by any remedies or prayers of the Brahmins, was immediately delivered, and recovered upon being instructed in the faith, and baptized by St. Francis, as he himself relates in a letter to St. Ignatius. Upon this miracle, not only that family, but most of the chief persons of the country, listened to his doctrine, and heartily embraced the faith, having obtained the leave of their prince. The servant of God proceeded to the Pearl Coast, set himself first to instruct and confirm those who had been formerly baptized ; and to succeed in his undertaking, he was at some pains to make himself more perfectly master of the Malabar tongue. Then he preached to those Paravas to whom the name of Christ was till that time unknown ; and so great were the multitudes which he baptized, that sometimes, by the bare fatigue of administering that sacrament, he was scarce able to move his arm, according to the account which he gave to his brethren in Europe. To make the children comprehend and retain the Catechism, he taught them to recite with him some little prayer upon each question or article. Every lesson or instruction he began with the Our Father, and ended with the Hail Mary. Diseases seem to have been never so frequent on that coast as at that time, which happened as if it had been to drive the most obstinate, in spite of their reluctance, into the folds of the Church ; for the people had almost all recourse to St. Francis for their cure, or that of some friend ; and great numbers recovered their health, either by being baptized, or by invoking the name of Jesus. The saint frequently sent some young neophyte with his crucifix, beads, or reliquary, to touch the sick, after having recited with them the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments ; and the sick by declaring unfeignedly that they believed in Christ, and desired to be baptized, recovered their health. The great number of miracles, and the admirable innocence, zeal, and sanc-

tity of the preacher, recommended him to the veneration of the Brahmins themselves, who were the philosophers, divines, and priests of the idolaters. These, nevertheless, upon motives of interest, opposed his doctrine ; and neither his conferences nor his miracles could gain them. The process of the saint's canonization makes mention of four dead persons to whom God restored life at this time by the ministry of His servant. The first was a catechist who had been stung by a serpent of that kind whose stings are always mortal. The second was a child who was drowned in a pit. The third and fourth a young man and maid whom a pestilential fever had carried off. Incredible were the labours of the saint. His food was the same with that of the poorest people, rice and water. His sleep was but three hours a night at most, and that in a fisher's cabin on the ground, for he soon made away with a mattress and coverlet which the governor had sent him from Goa. The remainder of the night he passed with God or with his neighbour. In the midst of the hurry of his external employments, he ceased not to converse interiorly with God, who bestowed on him such an excess of interior spiritual delights, that he was often obliged to desire the divine Goodness to moderate them, as he testified in a letter to St. Ignatius, and his brethren at Rome, though written in general terms, and in the third person. "I am accustomed," says he, "often to hear one labouring in this vineyard cry out to God : O my Lord, give me not so much joy and comfort in this life ; or, if by an excess of mercy Thou wilt heap it upon me, take me to Thyself, and make me partaker of Thy glory. For he who has once in his interior feeling tasted Thy sweetness must necessarily find life too bitter so long as he is deprived of the sight of Thee."

He had laboured about fifteen months in the conversion of the Paravas, when, toward the close of the year 1543, he was obliged to return to Goa to procure assistants. The seminary of the faith which had been founded there for the education of young Indians was committed to his care, and put into the hands of the society. The saint enlarged it, and made prudent regulations for the government and direction of the youth ; and, from this time, it was called the seminary of St. Paul. The following year he returned to the Paravas with a supply of evangelical labourers, as well Indians as Europeans, whom he stationed in different towns ; and some he carried with him into the kingdom of Travancor, where, as he testifies in one of his letters, he baptized ten thousand Indians with his own hand in one month ; and sometimes a whole village received the sacrament of regeneration in one day. When the holy man first penetrated into the inland provinces of the Indians,

being wholly ignorant of the language of the people, he could only baptize children, and serve the sick, who, by signs, could signify what they wanted, as he wrote to F. Mansilla. Whilst he exercised his zeal in Travancor, God first communicated to him the gift of tongues, according to the relation of a young Portuguese of Coimbra, named Vaz, who attended him in many of his journeys. He spoke very well the language of those barbarians without having learned it, and had no need of an interpreter when he instructed them. He sometimes preached to five or six thousand persons together, in some spacious plain. The saint narrowly escaped the snares which were sometimes laid by Brahmins and others to take away his life ; and, when the Badages, a tribe of savages and public robbers, having plundered many other places, made inroad into Travancor, he marched up to the enemy, with a crucifix in his hand, at the head of a small troop of fervent Christians, and, with a commanding air, bade them, in the name of the living God, not to pass further, but to return the way they came. His words cast such a terror into the minds of the leaders who were at the head of the barbarians, that they stood some time confounded, and without motion, then retired in disorder, and quitted the country. This action procured St. Francis the protection of the King of Travancor, and the surname of the Great Father. As the saint was preaching one day at Coulon, a village in Travancor, near Cape Comorin, perceiving that few were converted by his discourse, he made a short prayer that God would honour the blood and name of His beloved Son, by softening the hearts of the most obdurate. Then he bade some of the people open the grave of a man who was buried the day before, near the place where he preached ; and the body was beginning to putrefy with a noisome scent, which he desired the bystanders to observe. Then falling on his knees, after a short prayer, he commanded the dead man in the name of the living God to arise. At these words the dead man arose, and appeared not only living, but vigorous and in perfect health. All who were present were so struck with this evidence, that throwing themselves at the saint's feet, they demanded baptism. The holy man also raised to life, on the same coast, a young man who was a Christian, whose corpse he met as it was carried to the grave. To preserve the memory of this wonderful action, the parents of the deceased, who were present, erected a great cross on the place where the miracle was wrought. These miracles made so great impressions on the people, that the whole kingdom of Travancor was subjected to Christ in a few months, except the king and some of his courtiers.

The reputation of the miracles of St. Francis reached the isle

of Manar, which sent deputies to St. Francis, entreating him to visit their country. The saint could not at that time leave Travancor, but sent a zealous missionary, by whom many were instructed and baptized. The King of Jafanatapan, in the northern part of the neighbouring beautiful and pleasant isle of Ceylon, hearing of this progress of the faith, fell upon Manar with an army, and slew six or seven hundred Christians, who, when asked the question, boldly confessed Christ. This tyrant was afterward slain by the Portuguese, when they invaded Ceylon. The saint, after he had made a journey to Cochin, upon business, visited Mancar, and settled there a numerous church. In a journey of devotion, which he took to Meliapor, to implore the intercession of the apostle St. Thomas, he converted many dissolute livers in that place. Afterward, intending to pass to the island of Macassar, he sailed to Malacca, a famous mart, in the peninsula beyond the Ganges, to which all the Indies, and also the Arabs, Persians, Chinese, and Japonians, resorted for trade. The saint arrived here on the 25th of September, 1545, and, by the irresistible force of his zeal and miracles, reformed the debauched manners of the Christians, and converted many Pagans and Mahometans. This town had been lately possessed by a tribe of the latter sect, who had wrested it from the King of Siam; but Albuquerque had conquered it in 1511. St. Francis, finding no opportunity of sailing to Macassar, passed the Isles of Bonda, which are some of the spice islands. Landing in the island of Amboina, he baptized great part of the inhabitants. Having preached in other islands, he made a considerable stay in the Moluccas, and, though the inhabitants were an untractable people, he brought great numbers to the truth. Thence he passed to the Isle del Moro, the inhabitants of which he gained to Christ. In this mission he suffered much, but from it wrote to St. Ignatius: "The dangers to which I am exposed, and pains I take for the interest of God alone, are the inexhaustible springs of spiritual joy, insomuch, that these islands, bare of all worldly necessities, are the places in the world for a man to lose his sight with the excess of weeping, but they are tears of joy. I remember not ever to have tasted such interior delights, and these consolations of the soul are so pure, so exquisite, and so constant, that they take from me all sense of my corporal sufferings." The saint returned towards Goa, visited the islands on the road where he had preached, and arrived at Malacca in 1547. In the beginning of the year 1548 he landed in Ceylon, where he converted great numbers, with two kings.

At Malacca, a Japanese, named Angeroo, addressed himself to the saint. Kaempfer tells us that he had killed a man in his own

country, and, to save his life, made his escape in a Portuguese ship. All agree that he was rich, and of a noble extraction, and about thirty-five years of age, and that being disturbed in mind with remorse and terrors of conscience, he was advised by certain Christians to have recourse to the holy St. Francis for comfort. The saint poured the mildest balm into his wounded heart, and gave him assurances that he should find repose of mind, but must first seek God in His true religion. The Japanese was charmed with his discourses, and, as he had by that time acquired some knowledge of the Portuguese language, was instructed in the faith, and engaged by St. Francis to embark with his attendants and to go to Goa, whither he himself was directing his course, but taking a round. In the straits of Ceylon, the ship which carried the saint was overtaken with a most dreadful tempest, insomuch that the sailors threw all their merchandise overboard, and the pilot, not being able to hold the rudder, abandoned the vessel to the fury of the waves. For three days and three nights the mariners had nothing but death before their eyes. St. Francis, after hearing the confessions of all on board, fell on his knees before his crucifix, and continued there wholly taken up and lost to all things but to God. The ship at last struck against the sands of Ceylon, and the mariners gave themselves for lost, when Xavier, coming out of his cabin, took the line and plummet, as if it had been to fathom the sea, and letting them down to the bottom of the water, pronounced these words, "Great God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, have mercy on us!" At the same moment, the vessel stopped, and the wind ceased. After which they pursued their voyage, and happily arrived at Cochin, on the 21st of January, 1548. Writing from that place to the Fathers at Rome, he tells them, that in the height of the tempest, he had taken them and all devout persons on earth for his intercessors with God, had invoked all the saints and angels, going through all their orders, and desired particularly for his protectress and patroness the most holy Mother of God, and Queen of Heaven. He adds: "Having reposed all my hope in the infinite merits of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being encompassed with this protection, I enjoyed a greater satisfaction in the midst of this raging tempest than when I was wholly delivered from the danger. In very truth, being as I am, the worst of all men, I am ashamed to have shed so many tears of joy through an excess of heavenly pleasure, when I was just upon the point of perishing. Insomuch, that I humbly prayed Our Lord that He would not free me from the danger of my shipwreck, unless it were to reserve me for greater dangers, to His own glory, and for His service. God has often showed me,

by an inward discovery, from how many perils and sufferings He has delivered me by the prayers and sacrifices of those of the society."

The saint, leaving Cochin, visited the villages of the coast of the pearl fishery, and was much edified with the fervour of the converts ; he made some stay at Manapar, near Cape Comorin, passed over to the isle of Ceylon (where he converted the King of Cande), and arrived at Goa on the 20th of March, 1548. There he instructed Angeroo and many others, and took a resolution to go to Japan. In the meantime, he applied himself more than ever to the exercises of an interior life, as it were to recover new strength, for it is the custom of all apostolical men, by the communications which they have with God, to refresh themselves, and repair their interior spirit amidst the pains which they take with their neighbour. During this retirement, in the garden of St. Paul's college, sometimes walking, at other times in a little hermitage which was there set up, he cried out : "It is enough, my Lord ; it is enough." And he sometimes opened his cassock before his breast, declaring he was not able to support the abundance of heavenly consolations. At the same time, he signified that he rather prayed that God would reserve those pleasures for another time, and here would not spare to inflict on him any pains or sufferings in this present world. These interior employments did not hinder him from the labours of his ministerial vocation, nor from succouring the distressed in the hospitals and in the prisons. On the contrary, the more lively and ardent the love of God was in him, the more desirous he was to bring it forth, and kindle it in others. This charity caused him often to relinquish the delights of holy solitude. F. Gasper Barzia and four other Jesuits arrived at that time at Goa from Europe, whom the saint stationed, and then set out for Malacca, intending to proceed to Japan. After a short stay at Malacca, he went on board a Chinese vessel, and arrived at Cangoxima, in the kingdom of Saxuma, in Japan, on the 15th of August, 1549, having with him Angeroo, who had been baptized with two of his domestics at Goa, and was called Paul of the holy faith.

The language of the Japanese seems, in the judgment of Kaempfer, to be a primitive or original tongue ; for it has no affinity with other Oriental languages, though certain Chinese terms are adopted in it. St. Francis learned certain elements of it from his convert during his voyage, and stayed forty days at Cangoxima, lodging at Paul's house, whose wife, daughter, and other relations he in the meantime converted and baptized. The same language is used all over the empire, but the words are



differently accented when addressed to courtiers or persons of rank, and when to merchants and soldiers, and again differently to the vulgar. During these forty days, St. Francis, by unwearied application, made such progress in it as to translate into Japonian the apostles' creed, and an exposition of it which he had composed, and which he got by heart in this language, and then began to preach; but was first introduced by Paul to the King of Saxuma, whose residence was six leagues from Cangoxima. Meeting with a most gracious and honourable reception, he obtained the king's leave to preach the faith to his subjects, of which he made so good use that he converted a great number. Kaempfer pretends that he never spoke the language perfectly; but Charlevoix, from the original authors of his life, assures us that he spoke it even with elegance and propriety. The gift of tongues was a transient favour. He distributed copies of his exposition of the Creed among his converts. New miracles confirmed his doctrine. By his blessing, a child's body, which was swelled and deformed, was made straight and beautiful; and, by his prayers, a leper was healed, and a pagan young maid of quality, that had been dead a whole day, was raised to life.

After a year spent at Cangoxima with his usual success, the saint in 1550 went to Firando, the capital of another petty kingdom, for the King of Saxuma, incensed at the Portuguese because they had abandoned his port to carry on their trade chiefly at Firando, had withdrawn the license he had granted the saint, and began to persecute the Christians. The converts, however, persevered steady, and declared they were ready to suffer banishment or death, rather than deny Christ; and St. Francis recommended them to Paul, and left in their hands an ample exposition of the Creed and the Life of our Saviour, translated entire from the Gospels, which he had caused to be printed in Japanese characters. He took with him his two companions, who were Jesuits, and carried on his back, according to his custom, all the necessary utensils for the sacrifice of the Mass. The saint, in his way to Firando, preached in the fortress of Ekandono, the prince of which was a vassal to the King of Saxuma. The prince's steward embraced the faith with several others, and to his care Xavier recommended the rest at his departure, and he assembled them daily in his apartments to recite with them the litany and prayers, and on Sundays read to them the Christian doctrine, and so edifying was the behaviour of these Christians that many others desired to join them after the departure of the apostle; and the King of Saxuma, moved by their edifying conduct, became again the protector of our holy religion. At Firando Xavier baptized more

infidels in twenty days than he had done at Cangoxima in a whole year. These converts he left under the care of one of the Jesuits that accompanied him, and set out for Meaco with one Jesuit and two Japonian Christians. They went by the sea to Facata, and from then embarked for Amanguchi, the capital of the kingdom of Naugato, famous for the richest silver mines in Japan. Our saint preached here in public and before the King and his court ; but the Gospel at that time took no root in this debauched city, the number which the saint gained there being inconsiderable, though a single soul is indeed a great acquisition.

Xavier having made a month's abode at Amanguchi, and gathered small fruits of his labours, except affronts, continued his journey toward Meaco with his three companions. It was toward the end of December, and the four servants of God suffered much on the road from heavy rains, great drifts of snow, pinching cold, torrents, and hideous mountains and forests, and they travelled barefoot. In passing through towns and villages, Xavier was accustomed to read some part of his catechism to the people and to preach. Not finding a proper word in the Japonian language to express the sovereign deity, and fearing lest the idolaters should confound God with some of their idols, he told them that having never had any knowledge of the true infinite God, they were not able to express His name, but that the Portuguese called Him Deos, and this word he repeated with so much action, and such a tone of voice, that he made even the pagans sensible what veneration is due to that sacred name. In two several towns he narrowly escaped being stoned for speaking against the gods of the country. He arrived at Meaco with his companions in February, 1551. The Dairi, Cubosama, and Saso (or high-priest) then kept their court there ; but the saint could not procure an audience even of the Saso without paying for that honour a hundred thousand caixes, which amount to six hundred French crowns, a sum which he had not to give. A civil war, kindled against the Cubosama, filled the city with such tumults and alarms that Xavier saw it to be impossible to do any good there at that time, and after a fortnight's stay, returned to Amanguchi. Perceiving that he was rejected at court upon the account of his mean appearance, he bought a rich suit, and hired two or three servants ; and in this equipage waited on the King, to whom he made a present of a little striking-clock and some other things. Thus he obtained his protection, and preached with such fruit that he baptized three thousand persons in that city, with whom he left two Jesuits, who were his companions, to give the finishing to their instruction. At Amanguchi God restored to St. Francis the gift of tongues, for he

preached often to the Chinese merchants, who traded there, in their mother-tongue, which he had never learned. Sanctity, meekness, and humility are often more powerful in a preacher than the evidence of miracles. By the heroic example of these virtues the apostles converted the world, and by the like did our saint soften the hearts of many hardened infidels. F. Fernandez, one of his two companions, was proof of this at Amanguchi. As he was preaching one day to a mob who made a sport of him, one of the rabble, hawking up a great quantity of nasty phlegm, spit it full upon his face. The Father, without speaking a word, or making the least sign of emotion or concern, took his handkerchief, wiped his face, and continued his discourse. At such an heroic example of meekness, the scorn of the audience was turned into admiration, and the most learned doctor of the city, who happened to be present, said to himself that a law which taught such virtue, inspired men with such unshaken courage, and gave them so perfect a victory over themselves, could not be but from God ; and as soon as the sermon was ended he confessed that the preacher's virtue had convinced him, and desired baptism, which he received some days after with great solemnity. This illustrious conversion was followed by many others.

St. Francis, recommending the new Christians here to two Fathers whom he left behind, left Amanguchi toward the middle of September in 1551, and with two Japonian Christians, who had suffered with joy the confiscation of their goods for changing their religion, travelled on foot to Fuceo, the residence of the King of Bungo, who was very desirous to see him, and gave him a most gracious reception. Here the saint publicly confuted the Bonzas, who, upon motives of interest, everywhere strenuously opposed his preaching, though even among them some were converted. The saint's public sermons and private conversations had their due effect among the people, and vast multitudes desired to be instructed and baptized. Among others, the King himself was convinced of the truth, and renounced those impurities which are abhorred by nature ; but remained still wedded to some sensual pleasures, on which account he could not be admitted to the sacrament of regeneration, till after some succeeding years, having made more serious reflections on the admonitions of the saint, he reformed his life altogether and was baptized. Our saint took leave of this king and embarked to return to India on the 20th of November, 1551, having continued in Japan two years and four months. To cultivate this growing mission he sent thither three Jesuits, who were shortly followed by others. It had been often objected to him that the learned and wise men in China had not embraced the

faith of Christ. This circumstance first inspired him with an earnest desire that the name of Christ might be glorified in that flourishing empire; and, full of a zealous project of undertaking that great enterprise, he left Japan. In this voyage the ship in which he sailed was rescued from imminent danger of shipwreck in a storm by his prayers; and a shallop, in which were fifteen persons belonging to the ship, from which it had been separated by the same tempest, was saved by the same means, according to his confident and repeated prediction, the passengers and mariners in it seeming all the way to have seen Xavier sitting at the helm and steering it. Many other clear predictions of the saint are recorded. At Malacca he was received with the greatest joy that can be imagined, and he immediately set himself to contrive how he might compass his intended journey to China. The greatest difficulty was that besides the ill understanding which was betwixt China and Portugal, it was forbidden to strangers, on pain of death or of perpetual imprisonment, to set foot in that kingdom. Even some Portuguese merchants who had stolen thither for the benefit of trade, having been discovered, some of them had lost their heads, others had been put in irons and cast into dungeons, there to rot for the remainder of their lives. To remove this obstacle St. Francis discoursed with the old governor of Malacca, Don Pedro de Sylva, and with the new one, Don Alvarez d'Atayda, and it was agreed that an embassy might be sent in the name of the King of Portugal to China, to settle commerce with which the saint might with safety land in that kingdom. In the meantime the saint set out for Goa. Arriving at Cochin on the 24th of January in 1552, he there met the King of the Maldives, fleeing from rebellious subjects, whom F. Heredia had instructed in the faith, and St. Francis baptized him.

The exiled prince married a Portuguese lady and lived a private life till the day of his death, happy in this, that the loss of his crown procured him the gift of faith and the grace of baptism. Xavier reached Goa in the beginning of February, and having paid a visit to the hospitals, went to the college of St. Paul, where he cured a dying man. The missionaries whom he had dispersed before his departure had spread the Gospel on every side. F. Gasper Barzia had converted almost the whole city and island of Ormuz. Christianity flourished exceedingly on the coast of the pearl fishery, and had made great progress at Cochin, Coulan, Bazain, Meliapor, in the Moluccas, the isles of Moro, etc. The King of Tanor, whose dominions lay on the coast of Malabar, had been baptized at Goa. The King of Trichenamalo, one of the sovereigns of Ceylon, also embraced the faith. The progress of

the faith in many other places was such as gave the greatest subject of joy to the holy man. But F. Antonio Gomez, a great preacher and scholar, whom the saint had appointed rector of Goa, had made such changes and innovations even in the domestic discipline of the society, that the saint was obliged to dismiss him from the order. Xavier appointed F. Barzia, a person of eminent piety, rector of Goa and vice-provincial, sent new preachers into all the missions on this side the Ganges, and obtained of the viceroy, Don Alphonso de Norogna, a commission for his good friend, James Pereyra, to go on an embassy to China. Having settled all affairs at Goa, he made the most tender and ardent exhortations to his religious brethren, then leaving F. Barzia vice-provincial, set sail on the 14th of April in 1552, and landing at Malacca, found the town afflicted with a most contagious pestilential fever. This he had foretold before he arrived; and no sooner was he come on shore but running from street to street, he carried the poor that lay languishing up and down to the hospitals, and attended them with his companions. At that time he restored to life a young man named Francis Ciavos, who afterward took the habit of the society. When the mortality had almost ceased, the saint treated about the embassy to China with the governor of Malacca, on whom Don Alphonso de Norogna (the fifth viceroy and seventeenth governor of the Indies) had reposed the trust of that affair. Don Alvarez d'Atayda Gama had lately succeeded his good brother, Don Pedro de Sylva Gama, in the government of Malacca. This officer, out of a pique to Pereyra, crossed the project of the embassy, and, when St. Francis urged the authority of the King, and the command of the viceroy, Alvarez flew into a rage, and treated him with the most injurious language. The saint ceased not for a whole month to solicit the governor, and at length threatened him with excommunication in case he persisted thus to oppose the propagation of the Gospel. Upon this occasion the saint produced the briefs of Paul III. by which he was appointed apostolic nuncio, which, out of humility, he had kept a profound secret during ten years that were expired since his coming to the Indies. The governor continued to laugh at the threats, so that the Bishop's grand-vicar at length fulminated an excommunication against him in the name of Xavier, who seeing this design utterly destroyed, determined to go on board of a Portuguese ship that was setting sail for the isle of Sancian, a small barren isle near Macao, on the coast of China. This governor was afterward deposed for extortions and other crimes, by an order of the King, and sent in chains to Goa. St. Francis during this voyage wrought several miracles, and converted certain Mahometan passengers, and on the twenty-

third day after the ship's departure from Malacca, arrived at Sancian, where the Chinese permitted the Portuguese to come and buy their commodities. When the project of the embassy had failed, St. Francis had sent the three Jesuits he had taken for his companions into Japan, and retained with him only a brother of the society (who was a Chinese, and had taken the habit at Goa) and a young Indian. He hoped to find means with only two companions to land secretly in China. The merchants at Sancian endeavoured to persuade him that his design was impracticable, all setting before his eyes the rigorous laws of the government of China, that all the ports were narrowly guarded by vigilant officers who were neither to be circumvented nor bribed, and that the least he could expect was scourging and perpetual imprisonment. The saint was not to be deterred; and answered all these and many other reasons, saying, that to be terrified by such difficulties from undertaking the work of God would be incomparably worse than all the evils with which they threatened him. He therefore took his measures for the voyage of China, and first of all provided himself with a good interpreter; for the Chinese he had brought with him from Goa was wholly ignorant of the language which is spoken at the court, and had almost forgotten the common idiom of the vulgar. Then the saint hired a Chinese merchant called Capoceca, to land him by night on some part of the coast where no houses were in view, for which service Xavier engaged to pay him two hundred pardos, and bound himself by oath that no torments should ever bring him to confess either the name or house of him who had sent him on shore.

The Portuguese at Sancian fearing this attempt might be revenged by the Chinese on them, endeavoured to traverse the design. Whilst the voyage was deferred Xavier fell sick, and when the Portuguese vessels were all gone except one, was reduced to extreme want of all necessaries. Also the Chinese interpreter whom he had hired recalled his words. Yet the servant of God, who soon recovered of his illness, did not lose courage; and hearing that the King of Siam was preparing a magnificent embassy to the Emperor of China, he resolved to use his best endeavours to obtain leave to accompany the ambassador of Siam. But God was pleased to accept his will in this good work, and took him to Himself. A fever seized the saint a second time on the 20th of November, and at the same time he had a clear knowledge of the day and hour of his death, which he openly declared to a friend, who afterward made an authentic deposition of it by a solemn oath. From that moment he perceived in himself a strong disgust of all earthly things, and thought on nothing but that celestial

country whither God was calling him. Being much weakened by his fever, he retired into the vessel which was the common hospital of the sick, that he might die in poverty. But the tossing of the ship giving him an extraordinary headache, and hindering him from applying himself to God as he desired, the day following he requested that he might be set on shore again, which was done. He was exposed on the sands to a piercing north wind, till George Alvarez, out of compassion, caused him to be carried into his cabin, which afforded a very poor shelter, being open on every side. The saint's distemper, accompanied with an acute pain in his side, and a great oppression, increased daily; he was twice blooded, but the unskilful surgeon both times pricked the tendon, by which accident the patient fell into swooning convulsions. His disease was attended with a horrible nauseousness, insomuch that he could take no nourishment. But his countenance was always serene, and his soul enjoyed a perpetual calm. Sometimes he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and at other times fixed them on the crucifix, entertaining divine conversations with his God, in which he shed abundance of tears. At last, on the 2nd of December, which fell on Friday, having his eyes all bathed in tears, and fixed with great tenderness of soul upon his crucifix, he pronounced these words : *In Thee, O Lord, I have hoped : I shall not be confounded for ever ;* and, at the same instant, transported with celestial joy, which appeared upon his countenance, he sweetly gave up the ghost, in 1552. Though he was only forty-six years old, of which he had passed ten and a half in the Indies, his continual labours had made him grey betimes; in the last year of his life he was grizzled almost to whiteness. His corpse was interred on Sunday, being laid, after the Chinese fashion, in a large chest, which was filled up with unslacked lime, to the end that the flesh being consumed, the bones might be carried to Goa. On the 17th of February in 1553, the grave was opened to see if the flesh was consumed; but the lime being taken off the face, it was found ruddy and fresh-coloured : like that of a man who is in a sweet repose. The body in like manner whole, and the natural moisture uncorrupted; and the flesh being a little cut in the thigh, near the knee, the blood was seen to run from the wound. The sacerdotal habits in which the saint was buried were in no way endamaged by the lime; and the holy corpse exhaled an odour so fragrant and delightful, that the most exquisite perfumes came nothing near it. The sacred remains were carried into the ship, and brought to Malacca on the 22nd of March, where they were received with great honour. The pestilence which for some weeks had laid waste the town on a sudden ceased.

Holy zeal may properly be said to have formed the character of St. Francis Xavier. Consumed with an insatiable thirst of the salvation of souls, and of the dilatation of the honour and kingdom of Christ on earth, he ceased not with tears and prayers to conjure the Father of all men not to suffer those to perish whom He had created to His own divine image, made capable of knowing and loving Him, and redeemed with the adorable blood of His Son, as is set forth in the excellent prayer of this saint, printed in many books of devotion. For this end the saint, like another St. Paul, made himself all to all, and looked upon all fatigues, sufferings, and dangers, as his pleasure and gain. In transports of zeal he invited and pressed others to labour in the conversion of infidels and sinners. In one of his letters to Europe, he wrote as follows: "I have often thoughts to run over all the universities of Europe, and principally that of Paris, and to cry aloud to those who abound more in learning than in charity. Ah! how many souls are lost to heaven through your neglect! Many, without doubt, would be moved, would make a spiritual retreat, and give themselves the leisure for meditating on heavenly things. They would renounce their passions, and, trampling under foot all worldly vanities, would put themselves in a condition of following the motions of the divine will. Then they would say, Behold me in readiness, O Lord! How much more happily would these learned men then live! With how much more assurance would they die! Millions of idolaters might be easily converted if there were more preachers who would sincerely mind the interest of Jesus Christ, and not their own." But the saint required missionaries that are prudent, charitable, mild, perfectly disinterested, and of so great purity of manners, that no occasions of sin weaken their constancy. "In vain," says he, "would you commit this important employ to any, howsoever learned and otherwise qualified, unless they are labourers, mortified and patient; unless they are ready to suffer willingly, and with joy, hunger, and thirst, and the severest persecutions." This saint was himself a model of such preachers, formed upon the spirit of the apostles.



## SAINT IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, C.,

FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

A.D. 1556.

THE conversion of many barbarous nations, several heretofore unknown to us, both in the most remote eastern and western hemisphere; the education of youth in learning and piety, the instruction of the ignorant, the improvement of all the sciences, and the reformation of the manners of a great part of Christendom, is the wonderful fruit of the zeal with which this glorious saint devoted himself to labour in exalting the glory of God, and in spreading over the whole world that fire which Christ Himself came to kindle on earth. St. Ignatius was born in 1491, in the castle of Loyola, in Guipuscoa, a part of Biscay that reaches to the Pyrenean mountains. His father, Don Bertram, was lord of Oñez and Loyola, head of one of the most ancient and noble families of that country. His mother, Mary Saez de Balde, was not less illustrious by her extraction. They had three daughters and eight sons. The youngest of all these was Inigo or Ignatius; he was well shaped, and in his childhood gave proofs of a pregnant wit and discretion above his years; was affable and obliging, but of a warm or choleric disposition, and had an ardent passion for glory. He was bred in the court of Ferdinand V., in quality of page to the King, under the care and protection of Antony Manriquez, Duke of Najara, grandee of Spain, who was his kinsman and patron, and who, perceiving his inclinations led him to the army, took care to have him taught all the exercises proper to make him an accomplished officer. The love of glory and the example of his elder brothers, who had signalized themselves in the wars of Naples, made him impatient till he entered the service. He behaved with great valour and conduct in the army, especially at the taking of Najara, a small town on the frontiers of Biscay, yet he generously declined taking any part of the booty, in which he might have challenged the greatest share. He hated gaming as an offspring of avarice, and a source of quarrels and

other evils; was dexterous in the management of affairs, and had an excellent talent in making up differences among the soldiers. He was generous even towards enemies, but addicted to gallantry, and full of the maxims of worldly honour, vanity, and pleasures. Though he had no tincture of learning, he made tolerable good verses in Spanish, having a natural genius for poetry. A poem which he composed in praise of St. Peter was much commended.

Charles V., who had succeeded King Ferdinand, was chosen emperor, and obliged to go into Germany. Francis I., King of France, a martial prince, having been his competitor for the empire, resented his disappointment, and became an implacable enemy to the Emperor and the house of Austria. He declared war against Charles, with a view to recover Navarre, of which Ferdinand had lately dispossessed John of Albert, and which Charles still held, contrary to the treaty of Noyon, by which he was obliged to restore it in six months. Francis, therefore, in 1521 sent a great army into Spain, under the command of Andrew de Foix, younger brother of the famous Lautrec, who, passing the Pyreneans, laid siege to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. Ignatius had been left there by the viceroy, not to command, but to encourage the garrison. He did all that lay in his power to persuade them to defend the city, but in vain. However, when he saw them open the gates to the enemy, to save his own honour, he retired into the citadel with one only soldier who had the heart to follow him. The garrison of this fortress deliberated likewise whether they should surrender, but Ignatius encouraged them to stand their ground. The French attacked the place with great fury, and with their artillery made a wide breach in the wall, and attempted to take it by assault. Ignatius appeared upon the breach, at the head of the bravest part of the garrison, and with his sword in his hand, endeavoured to drive back the enemy; but, in the heat of the combat, a shot from a cannon broke from the wall a bit of stone which struck and bruised his left leg; and the ball itself in the rebound broke and shivered his right leg. The garrison seeing him fall, surrendered at discretion.

The French used their victory with moderation, and treated the prisoners well, especially Ignatius, in consideration of his quality and valour. They carried him to the general's quarters, and soon after sent him, in a litter carried by two men, to the castle of Loyola, which was not far from Pampeluna. Being arrived there, he felt great pain, for the bones had been ill set, as is often the case in the hurry after a battle. The surgeons, therefore, judged it necessary to break his leg again, which he suffered without any concern. But a violent fever followed the second setting, which

was attended with dangerous symptoms, and reduced him to an extreme degree of weakness, so that the physicians declared that he could not live many days. He received the sacraments on the eve of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and it was believed he could not hold out till the next morning. Nevertheless God, who had great designs of mercy upon him, was pleased to restore him to his health in the following manner: Ignatius always had a singular devotion to St. Peter, and implored his intercession in his present distress with great confidence. In the night he thought he saw in a dream that apostle touch him, and cure him. When he awaked he found himself out of danger, his pains left him, and his strength began to return, so that he ever after looked upon this recovery as miraculous; yet he still retained the spirit of the world. After the second setting of his leg, the end of a bone struck out under his knee, which was a visible deformity. Though the surgeons told him the operation would be very painful, this protuberance he caused to be cut off, merely that his boot and stockings might sit handsomely; and he would neither be bound nor held, and scarce ever changed countenance whilst the bone was partly sawed and partly cut off, though the pain must have been excessive. Because his right leg remained shorter than the left, he would be for many days together put upon a kind of rack, and with an iron engine he violently stretched and drew out that leg; but all to little purpose, for he remained lame his whole life after.

During the cure of his knee he was confined to his bed, though otherwise in perfect health, and finding the time tedious, he called for some book of romances, for he had been always much delighted with fabulous histories of knight-errantry. None such being then found in the castle of Loyola, a book of the lives of our Saviour and of the saints was brought him. He read them first only to pass away the time, but afterward began to relish them and to spend whole days in reading them. He chiefly admired in the saints their love of solitude and of the cross. He considered among the anchorets many persons of quality, who buried themselves alive in caves and dens, pale with fasting, and covered with hair cloth; and he said to himself, "These men were of the same frame I am of; why then should not I do what they have done?" In the fervour of his good resolutions he thought of visiting the Holy Land, and becoming a hermit. But these pious motions soon vanished, and his passion for glory, and a secret inclination for a rich lady in Castile, with a view to marriage, again filled his mind with thoughts of the world, till returning to the lives of the saints, he perceived in his own heart the emptiness of all worldly glory, and that only God could content the

soul. This vicissitude and fluctuation of mind continued some time ; but he observed this difference, that the thoughts which were from God filled his soul with consolation, peace, and tranquillity ; whereas the others brought, indeed, some sensible delight, but left a certain bitterness and heaviness in the heart. This mark he lays down in his book of Spiritual Exercises as the ground of the rules for the discernment of the Spirit of God and the world in all the motions of the soul, as does Cardinal Bona, and all other writers who treat of the discernment of spirits in the interior life. Taking at last a firm resolution to imitate the saints in their heroic practice of virtue, he began to treat his body with all the rigour it was able to bear ; he rose at midnight and spent his retired hours in weeping for his sins.

One night being prostrate before an image of the Blessed Virgin, in extraordinary sentiments of fervour, he consecrated himself to the service of his Redeemer, under her patronage, and vowed an inviolable fidelity. When he had ended his prayer he heard a great noise ; the house shook, the windows of his chamber were broken, and a rent was made in the wall which remains to this day, says the latest writer of his life. God might by this sign testify His acceptance of his sacrifice, as a like sign happened in the place where the faithful were assembled after Christ's ascension, and in the prison of Paul and Silas ; or this might be an effect of the rage of the devil. Another night, Ignatius saw the Mother of God environed with light, holding the infant Jesus in her arms ; this vision replenished his soul with spiritual delight, and made all sensual pleasure and worldly objects insipid to him ever after. The saint's eldest brother, who was then, by the death of their father, lord of Loyola, endeavoured to detain him in the world, and to persuade him not to throw away the great advantages of the honour and reputation which his valour had gained him. But Ignatius being cured of his wounds, under pretence of paying a visit to the Duke of Najara, who had often come to see him during his illness, and who lived at Navarret, turned another way, and sending his two servants back from Navarret to Loyola, went to Montserrat. This was a great abbey of near three hundred Benedictin monks, of a reformed austere institute, situate on a mountain of difficult access, about four leagues in circumference and two leagues high, in the diocese of Barcelona. The monastery was first founded for nuns by the sovereign counts of Barcelona about the year 880, but was given to monks in 990. It has been much augmented by several kings of Spain, and is very famous for a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, and a great resort of pilgrims.

There lived at that time in this monastery a monk of great sanctity, named John Chanones, a Frenchman, who being formerly vicar-general to the Bishop of Mirepoix, in the thirty-first year of his age, resigned his ecclesiastical preferments, and took the monastic habit in this place. He lived to the age of eighty-eight years, never eating any flesh, watching great part of the night in prayer, dividing his whole time between heavenly contemplation and the service of his neighbour, and giving to all Spain an example of the most perfect obedience, humility, charity, devotion, and all other virtues. To this experienced director, Ignatius addressed himself, and after his preparation, was three days in making to him a general confession, which he often interrupted by the abundance of his tears. He made a vow of perpetual chastity, and dedicated himself with great fervour to the divine service. At his first coming to this place he had bought, at the village of Montserrat, a long coat of coarse cloth, a girdle, a pair of sandals, a wallet, and a pilgrim's staff, intending, after he had finished his devotions there, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Disguised in this habit, he remained at the abbey. He communicated to his director a plan of the austerities he proposed to practise, and was confirmed by him in his good resolutions. He received the blessed eucharist early in the morning on the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady in 1522; and, on the same day, left Montserrat for fear of being discovered, having given his horse to the monastery, and hung up his sword on a pillar near the altar in testimony of his renouncing the secular warfare, and entering himself in that of Christ. He travelled with his staff in his hand, a scrip by his side, bare-headed, and with one foot bare, the other being covered because it was yet tender and swelled. He went away infinitely pleased that he had cast off the livery of the world, and put on that of Jesus Christ. He had bestowed his rich clothes on a beggar at his coming out of Montserrat; but the poor man was thrown into prison on suspicion of theft. Ignatius being sent after by the magistrates, and brought back, told the truth to release him, but would not discover his own name.

Three leagues from Montserrat is a large village called Manresa, with a convent of Dominicans, and a hospital without the walls for pilgrims and sick persons. Ignatius went to this hospital, and rejoicing to see himself received in it unknown and among the poor, began to fast on water and the bread (which he begged) the whole week, except Sundays, when he ate a few boiled herbs, but sprinkled over with ashes. He wore an iron girdle and a hair-shirt; disciplined himself thrice a day, slept little, and lay on the ground. He was every day present at the whole divine office,

spent seven hours on his knees at prayer, and received the sacraments every Sunday. To add humiliation to his bodily austerities, he affected a clownishness in his behaviour, and went begging about the streets with his face covered with dirt, his hair rough, and his beard and nails grown out to a frightful length. The children threw stones at him, and followed him with scornful shouts in the streets. Ignatius suffered these insults without saying one word, rejoicing secretly in his heart to share in the reproaches of the cross. The more mortifying the noisomeness of the hospital and the company of beggars were, the more violence he offered to himself that he might bear them cheerfully. The story of the fine suit of clothes given to the beggar at Montserrat, and the patience and devotion of the holy man, made him soon to be revered as some fervent penitent in disguise. To shun this danger, he privately hid himself in a dark deep cave in a solitary valley, called The Vale of Paradise, covered with briers, half a mile from the town. Here he much increased his mortifications till he was accidentally found half dead, and carried back to Manresa and lodged in the hospital.

After enjoying peace of mind and heavenly consolations from the time of his conversion, he was here visited with the most terrible trial of fears and scruples. He found no comfort in prayer, no relief in fasting, no remedy in disciplines, no consolation from the sacraments, and his soul was overwhelmed with bitter sadness. The Dominicans, out of compassion, took him out of the hospital into their convent; but his melancholy only increased upon him. He apprehended some sin in every step he took, and seemed often on the very brink of despair; but he was in the hands of Him whose trials are favours. He most earnestly implored the divine assistance, and took no sustenance for seven days, till his confessor obliged him to eat. Soon after this, his tranquillity of mind was perfectly restored, and his soul overflowed with spiritual joy. From this experience he acquired a particular talent for curing scrupulous consciences, and a singular light to discern them. His prayer was accompanied with many heavenly raptures, and he received from God a supernatural knowledge and sense of sublime divine mysteries; yet he concealed all from the eyes of men, only disclosing himself to his two confessors, the pious monk of Montserrat and the Dominican of Manresa; however, the people began to reverence him as a living saint, which they particularly testified during a violent fever into which his austerities cast him three times.

Too nice a worldly prudence may condemn the voluntary humiliations which this saint sometimes made choice of; but the

wisdom of God is above that of the world, and the Holy Ghost sometimes inspires certain heroic souls to seek perfectly to die to themselves by certain practices which are extraordinary, and which would not be advisable to others ; and if affected or undertaken with obstinacy and against advice, would be pernicious and criminal. Ignatius, by perfect compunction, humility, self-denial, contempt of the world, severe interior trials, and assiduous meditation, was prepared, by the divine grace, to be raised to an extraordinary gift of supernatural prayer. He afterward assured F. Lainez that he had learned more of divine mysteries by prayer in one hour at Manresa, than all the doctors of the schools could ever have taught him. He was there favoured with many raptures, and divine illustrations concerning the Trinity, of which he afterward spoke with so much light and unction, that the most learned admired him, and the ignorant were instructed. In like manner, in various wonderful ecstasies, he was enlightened concerning the beauty and order of the creation, the excess of divine love which shines forth to man in the sacrament of the altar, and many other mysteries. So imperfect was his knowledge of his duties when he first renounced the world, that hearing a certain Moresco or Mahometan speak injuriously of the Holy Mother of God, when he set out from Loyola for Montserrat, he deliberated whether, being an officer, he ought not to kill him, though the divine protection preserved him from so criminal an action. But at Manresa he made so good a progress in the school of virtue, as to become qualified already to be a guide to others. He stayed there almost a year, during which time he governed himself by the advice of the holy monk of Montserrat, whom he visited every week, and that of his Dominican director.

Spain, in that and the foregoing age, abounded with many learned and experienced persons in that way, endowed with an eminent spirit, and a perfect experimental knowledge of Christian piety ; witness the works of St. Peter of Alcantara, John of Avila, St. Teresa, Bartholomew de Martyribus, Lewis of Granada, and others. Our saint had the happiness to fall into the hands of prudent and able guides, and giving his heart to God without reserve, became himself in a short time an accomplished master ; and whereas he at first only proposed to himself his own perfection, he afterward burned with an ardent desire of contributing to the salvation of others ; and commiserating the blindness of sinners, and considering how much the glory of God shines in the sanctification of souls purchased with the blood of His Son, he said to himself, " It is not enough that I serve the Lord ; all hearts ought to love Him, and all tongues ought to praise Him." With this view, in order to be

admitted more freely to converse with persons in the world, he chose a dress which, being more decent than the penitential garments which he at first wore, might not be disagreeable to others, and he moderated his excessive austerities.

He began then to exhort many to the love of virtue, and he there wrote his "Spiritual Exercises," which he afterwards revised and published at Rome in 1548. Though the saint was at that time unacquainted with learning any farther than barely to read and write, yet this book is so full of excellent maxims and instructions in the highest points of a spiritual life, that it is most clear that the Holy Ghost supplied abundantly what was yet wanting in him of human learning and study. The spirit which reigns in this book was that of all the saints. Frequent religious retirement had been practised by pious persons, in imitation of Christ and all the saints from the beginning; likewise the use and method of holy meditation were always known; but the excellent order of these meditations, prescribed by Ignatius, was new; and, though the principal rules and maxims are found in the lessons and lives of the ancient Fathers of the desert, they are here judiciously chosen, methodically digested, and clearly explained. One of these is that a person must not abridge the time, or desist from meditating, on account of spiritual dryness; another, that no one make any vow in sudden sentiments of fervour, but wait some time, and first ask advice. St. Ignatius establishes in this book the practice of a daily particular examination against a person's predominant passion, or on the best means and endeavours to acquire some particular virtue, besides the daily general examination of conscience. He lays down this excellent maxim: "When God hath appointed out a way, we must faithfully follow it, and never think of another under pretence that it is more easy and safe. It is one of the devil's artifices to set before a soul some state, holy indeed, but impossible to her, or at least different from hers, that by this love of novelty, she may dislike or be slack in her present state in which God hath placed her, and which is best for her. In like manner he represents to her other actions as more holy and profitable to make her conceive a disgust of her present employment." When some pretended to find fault with this book of St. Ignatius's "Spiritual Exercises," Pope Paul III., at the request of St. Francis Borgia, by a brief in 1548, approved it, as full of the Spirit of God, and very useful for the edification and spiritual profit of the faithful.

The pestilence which raged in Italy having ceased, Ignatius, after a stay of ten months at Manresa, left that place for Barcelona, neither regarding the tears of those who sought to detain him, nor admitting any to bear him company, nor consenting to accept any



money for the expenses of his journey. He took shipping at Barcelona, and in five days landed at Gaëta, whence he travelled on foot to Rome, Padua, and Venice, through villages, the towns being shut for fear of the plague. He spent the Easter at Rome, and sailed from Venice on board the admiral's vessel, which was carrying the governor to Cyprus. The sailors were a profligate crew, and seemed entirely to neglect prayer and all duties of religion, and their discourse was often lewd and profane. Ignatius having reproved them for their licentiousness, his zeal made them conspire to leave him ashore in a desert island ; but a gust of wind from the land hindered the ship from touching upon it. He arrived at Cyprus, and found in the port a vessel full of pilgrims, just ready to hoist sail. Going immediately on board, he made a good voyage, and landed at Jaffa, the ancient Joppe, on the last day of August, 1523, forty days after he had left Venice. He went on foot from thence to Jerusalem in four days. The sight of the holy places filled his soul with joy and the most ardent sentiments of devotion and compunction, and he desired to stay there to labour in the conversion of the Mahometans. The provincial of the Franciscans, by virtue of his authority from the Holy See over the pilgrims, commanded him to leave Palestine. Ignatius obeyed, but slipt privately back to satisfy his devotion again in visiting twice more the print of our Saviour's feet on Mount Olivet.

He returned to Europe in winter in extreme cold weather, poorly clad, and came to Venice at the end of January in 1524, from whence he continued his journey by Genoa to Barcelona. Desiring to qualify himself for the functions of the altar, and for assisting spiritually his neighbour, he began at Barcelona to study grammar, and addressed himself to a famous master named Jerom Ardebal, being assisted in the meantime in his maintenance by the charities of a pious lady of that city, called Isabel Rosella. He was then thirty-three years old, and it is not hard to conceive what difficulties he must go through in learning the rudiments of grammar at that age. Moreover, he seemed by his military employments, and after his retreat by his contemplative life, very unfit for such an undertaking. At first his mind was so fixed only on God that he forgot everything he read, and conjugating *amo*, for example, could only repeat to himself, "I love God ; I am loved by God," and the like ; but resisting this as a temptation, he began to make some progress, still joining contemplation and extraordinary austerities with his studies. He bore the jeers and taunts of the little boys, his schoolfellows, with joy. Hearing that a poor man called Lasano had hanged himself on a beam in his chamber, he ran to him, cut the rope, and prayed by him till the

man returned to himself, though he had before seemed perfectly dead to all the bystanders. Lasano made his confession, received the sacraments, and soon after expired. This fact was regarded in the city as miraculous.

Some persons persuaded Ignatius to read Erasmus's "*Christian Soldier*," an elegant book wrote by that master of style, at the request of an officer's pious lady, for the use of her husband, a man of loose morals. The saint always found his heart dry after reading this or any other of that author's works, which made him afterward caution those of his society against reading them, at least very much. Though in that writer's paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer and other such treatises of piety we find very pious sentiments collected from great authors, and elegantly and concisely expressed, yet a devout reader finds the language of the heart wanting. On the other side, it is well known how much St. Ignatius read daily, and recommended to all other the incomparable book, "*Of the Imitation of Christ*," which he made frequent use of to nourish and increase the fervour of his soul. He lodged at the house of one Agnes Pascal, a devout woman. Her son, John Pascal, a pious youth, would sometimes rise in the night to observe what Ignatius did in his chamber, and saw him sometimes on his knees, sometimes prostrate on the ground, his countenance on fire, and often in tears, repeating such words as these: "O God, my love, and the delight of my soul, if men knew Thee, they could never offend Thee! My God, how good art Thou to bear with such a sinner as I am!"

The saint, after studying two years at Barcelona, went to the university of Alcala, which had been lately founded by Cardinal Ximenes, where he attended at the same time to lectures in logic, physics, and divinity, by which multiplicity he only confounded his ideas, and learned nothing at all, though he studied night and day. He lodged in a chamber of an hospital, lived by begging a small subsistence, and wore a coarse grey habit, in which he was imitated by four companions. He catechised children, held assemblies of devotion in the hospital, and by his mild reprehensions converted many loose livers, and among others one of the richest prelates in Spain. Some accused him of sorcery, and of the heresy of certain visionaries lately condemned in Spain under the name of *Illuminati*, or *Men of New Light*; but upon examination he was justified by the inquisitors. After this, for teaching the Catechism, being a man without learning or authority, he was accused to the bishop's grand vicar, who confined him to close prison two-and-forty days, but declared him innocent of any fault by a public sentence on the first day of June, 1527; yet for-

bidding him and his companions to wear any singular habit, or to give any instructions in religious matters, being illiterate persons. Ignatius rejoiced in his gaol that he suffered though innocent, but spoke with such piety that many called him another St. Paul in prison. Being enlarged, he went about the streets with a public officer to beg money to buy a scholar's dress, in which action he rejoiced at the insults and affronts which he met with. However, he went himself to the Archbishop of Toledo, Alphonsus de Fonseca, who was much pleased with him, but advised him to leave Alcala, and go to Salamanca, promising him his protection. Ignatius, in this latter place, began to draw many to virtue, and was followed by great numbers, which exposed him again to suspicions of introducing dangerous practices, and the grand vicar of Salamanca imprisoned him ; but after two-and-twenty days declared him innocent, and a person of sincere virtue. Ignatius looked upon prisons, sufferings, and ignominy as the height of his ambition ; and God was pleased to purge and sanctify his soul by these trials. Recovering his liberty again, he resolved to leave Spain.

He from that time began to wear shoes, and received money sent him by his friends, but in the middle of winter travelled on foot to Paris, where he arrived in the beginning of February, 1528. He spent two years in perfecting himself in the Latin tongue ; then went through a course of philosophy. He lived first in Montaigne college ; but being robbed of his money, was obliged to lodge in the hospital of St. James, to beg his bread from day to day, and in the vacation time to go into Flanders, and once into England, to procure charities from the Spanish merchants settled there, from whom and from some friends at Barcelona he received abundant supplies. He studied his philosophy three years and a half in the college of St. Barbara. He had induced many of his schoolfellows to spend the Sundays and holidays in prayer, and to apply themselves more fervently to the practice of good works. Pegna, his master, thought he hindered their studies, and finding him not corrected by his admonitions, prepossessed Govea, principal of the college of St. Barbara, against him, so that he was ordered by him to undergo the greatest punishment then in use in that university, called *The Hall*, which was a public whipping, that this infamy might deter others from following him. The regents came all into the hall with rods in their hands ready to lash the seditious student. Ignatius offered himself joyfully to suffer all things ; yet apprehending lest the scandal of this disgrace should make those whom he had reclaimed fall back, when they saw him condemned as a corrupter of youth, went to the principal in his chamber, and

modestly laid open to him the sentiments of his soul, and the reasons of his conduct, and offered himself, as much as concerned his own person, that any sacrifice should be made of his body and fame, but begged of him to consider the scandal some might receive who were yet young and tender in virtue. Govea made him no answer, but taking him by the hand, led him into the hall, where, at the ring of the bell, the whole college stood ready assembled. When all saw the principal enter, and expected the sign for the punishment, he threw himself at the feet of Ignatius, begging his pardon for having too lightly believed such false reports; then rising, he publicly declared that Ignatius was a living saint, and had no other aim or desire than the salvation of souls, and was ready to suffer joyfully any infamous punishment. Such a reparation of honour gave the saint the highest reputation, and even the ancient and experienced doctors asked his advice in spiritual matters. Pegna himself was ever after his great admirer and friend, and appointed another scholar, who was more advanced in his studies, and a young man of great virtue and quick parts, to assist him in his exercises. This was Peter Faber, a Savoyard, a native of the diocese of Geneva, by whose help he finished his philosophy, and took the degree of master of arts with great applause, after a course of three years and a half, according to the custom of the times. After this Ignatius began his divinity at the Dominicans'.

Peter Faber had from his childhood made a vow of chastity, which he had always most faithfully kept, yet was troubled with violent temptations, from which the most rigorous fasts did not deliver him. He was also tempted to vain-glory, and laboured under great anxiety and scruples about these temptations, which he at length disclosed to Ignatius, his holy pupil, whose skilful and heavenly advice was a healing balsam to his soul. The saint at last prescribed him a course of his spiritual exercises, and taught him the practices of meditation, of the particular examination, and other means of perfection, conducting him through all the paths of an interior life. St. Francis Xavier, a young master of philosophy, full of the vanity of the schools, was his next conquest. St. Ignatius made him sensible that all mortal glory is emptiness, only that which is eternal deserving our regard. He converted many abandoned sinners. When a young man, engaged in a criminal commerce with a woman of the city, was proof against his exhortations, Ignatius stood in a frozen pond by the wayside up to the neck, and as he passed by in the night, cried out to him, "Whither are you going? Do not you hear the thunder of divine justice over your head, ready to break upon you? Go, then; satisfy your

brutish passion ; here I will suffer for you, to appease Heaven." The lewd young man, at first affrighted, then confounded, returned back, and changed his life. By the like pious stratagems the saint recovered many other souls from the abysses into which they were fallen. He often served the sick in the hospitals ; and one day finding a repugnance to touch the ulcers of one sick of a contagious distemper, to overcome himself he not only dressed his sores, but put his hand from them to his mouth, saying, " Since thou art afraid for one part, thy whole body shall take its share." From that time he felt no natural repugnance in such actions.

James Laynez, of Almazan, twenty-one years of age ; Alphonso Salmeron, only eighteen ; and Nicholas Alphonso, surnamed Bobadilla, from the place of his birth, near Valencia, all Spaniards of great parts, at that time students in divinity at Paris, associated themselves to the saint in his pious exercises. Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese, joined them. These fervent students, moved by the pressing instances and exhortations of Ignatius, made all together a vow to renounce the world, to go to preach the Gospel in Palestine, or if they could not go thither within a year after they had finished their studies, to offer themselves to His Holiness to be employed in the service of God in what manner he should judge best. They fixed for the end of all their studies the 25th day of January, 1537, and pronounced this vow aloud in the holy subterraneous chapel at Montmartre, after they had all received the Holy Communion from Peter Faber, who had been lately ordained priest. This was done on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, in 1534. Ignatius continued frequent conferences, and joint exercises, to animate his companions in their good purposes ; but soon after was ordered by the physicians to try his native air for the cure of a lingering indisposition. He left Paris in the beginning of the year 1535, and was most honourably and joyfully received in Guipuscoa by his eldest brother Garcias, and his nephews, and by all the clergy in processions. He refused to go to the castle of Loyola, taking up his quarters in the hospital of Azpetia. The sight of the places where he had led a worldly life excited in him the deepest sentiments of compunction, and he chastised his body with a rough hair-shirt, iron chains, disciplines, watching, and prayer. He recovered his health in a short time, and catechised and instructed the poor with incredible fruit. Ignatius, in his childhood, had with some companions robbed an orchard, for which another man had been condemned to pay the damages. In the first discourse he made he accused himself publicly of this fact, and calling the poor man, who was present, declared that he had been falsely accused, and for reparation gave him two farms which

belonged to him, begging his pardon before all the people, adding that this was one of the reasons of his journey thither.

In the meantime three others, all doctors in divinity, by the exhortations of Faber, joined the saint's companions in Paris : Claudius Le Jay, a Savoyard, John Codure, a native of Dauphiné, and Pasquier Brouet, of Picardy ; so that with Ignatius they were now ten in number. The holy founder, after a tedious and dangerous journey both by sea and land, arrived at Venice about the end of the year 1536, and his nine companions from Paris met him there on the 8th of January, 1537 ; they employed themselves in the hospitals, but all except Ignatius went to Rome, where Pope Paul III. received them graciously, and granted them an indult, that those who were not priests might receive holy orders from what bishop they pleased. They were accordingly ordained at Venice by the Bishop of Arbe. Ignatius was one of this number. After their ordination they retired into a cottage near Vicenza, to prepare themselves in solitude by fasting and prayer for the holy ministry of the altar. The rest said their first Masses in September and October, but Ignatius deferred his from month to month till Christmas Day, overflowing in his retirement with heavenly consolations, and in danger of losing his sight through the abundance of his tears. Thus he employed a whole year in preparing himself to offer that adorable sacrifice. After this they dispersed themselves into several places about Verona and Vicenza, preaching penance to the people, and living on a little bread which they begged. The Emperor and the Venetians having declared war against the Turks, their pilgrimage into Palestine was rendered impracticable. The year therefore being elapsed, Ignatius, Faber, and Laynez went to Rome, threw themselves at His Holiness's feet, and offered themselves to whatever work he should judge best to employ them in. St. Ignatius told his companions at Vicenza that if any one asked what their institute was, they might answer, "the Society of Jesus," because they were united to fight against heresies and vice under the standard of Christ. In his road from Vicenza to Rome, praying in a little chapel between Sienna and Rome, he, in an ecstasy, seemed to see the eternal Father, who affectionately commended him to His Son. Jesus Christ appeared at the same time also shining with an unspeakable light, but loaded with a heavy cross, and sweetly said to Ignatius : "I will be favourable to you at Rome." This St. Ignatius disclosed to F. Laynez in a transport when he came out of the chapel ; and F. Laynez, when he was general, related it to all the Fathers in Rome in a domestic conference at which F. Ribadeneira, who records it, was present. The same was attested by others to whom

the saint had discovered this signal favour. Pope Paul III. accordingly received them graciously ; and appointed Faber, called in French *Le Fevre*, to teach in the Sapienza at Rome scholastic divinity, and Laynez to explain the Holy Scripture ; whilst Ignatius laboured, by means of his spiritual exercises and instructions, to reform the manners of the people.

The holy founder, with a view to perpetuate the work of God, called to Rome all his companions, and proposed to them his design and motives of forming themselves into a religious order. After recommending the matter to God by fasting and prayer, all agreed in the proposal, and resolved, first, besides the vows of poverty and chastity already made by them, to add a third of perpetual obedience, the more perfectly to conform themselves to the Son of God, who was obedient even to death ; and to establish a general whom all, by their vow, should be bound to obey, who should be perpetual, and his authority absolute, subject entirely to the Pope, but not liable to be restrained by chapters. He likewise determined to prescribe a fourth vow of going wherever the Pope should send them for the salvation of souls, and even without money, if it should so please him ; also that the professed Jesuits should possess no real estates or revenues, either in particular or in common ; but that colleges might enjoy revenues and rents for the maintenance of students of the order. In the meanwhile Govea, principal of the college of St. Barbara at Paris, had recommended the Jesuits to the King of Portugal as proper missionaries for the conversion of the Indies, and that prince asked of Ignatius six labourers for that purpose. The founder having only ten, could send him no more than two, Simon Rodriguez, who remained in Portugal, and Xavier, afterward the apostle of the Indies. The three cardinals appointed by the Pope to examine the affair of this new order at first opposed it, thinking religious orders already too much multiplied, but changed their opinions on a sudden, and Pope Paul III. approved it, under the title of "*The Society of Jesus*," by a bull, dated the 27th of September, 1540. Ignatius was chosen the first general, but only acquiesced in obedience to his confessor. He entered upon his office on Easter-day, 1541, and the members all made their religious vows, according to the bull of their institution.

Ignatius then set himself to write constitutions or rules for his society, in which he lays down its end to be, in the first place, the sanctification of their own souls by joining together the active and the contemplative life ; for nothing so much qualifies a minister of God to save others as the sanctification of his own soul in the first place : secondly, to labour for the salvation and perfection of

their neighbour, and this first by catechising the ignorant (which work is the basis and ground of religion and virtue, and though mean and humble, is the most necessary and indispensable duty of every pastor), secondly by the instruction of youth in piety and learning (upon which the reformation of the world principally depends), and thirdly by the direction of consciences, missions, and the like.

St. Ignatius would have the office of general to be perpetual or for life, being persuaded this would better command the respect of inferiors, and more easily enable him to undertake and carry on great enterprises for the glory of God, which require a considerable time to have them well executed. Nevertheless, he often strenuously endeavoured to resign that dignity, but was never able to compass it; and at length the Pope forbade him any more to attempt it. He had no sooner taken that charge upon him than he went into the kitchen, and served as a scullion under the cook, and he continued for forty-six days to catechise poor children in the church of the society. By preaching he gained such an ascendant over the hearts of the people as produced many wonderful conversions. Among the pious establishments which he made at Rome, he founded a house for the reception of Jews who should be converted during the time of their instruction, and another for the reception and maintenance of lewd women who should be desirous to enter upon virtuous courses, yet were not called to a religious state among the Magdalens or penitents. When one told him that the conversion of such sinners is seldom sincere, he answered: "To prevent only one sin would be a great happiness, though it cost me ever so great pains." He procured two houses to be erected at Rome for the relief of poor orphans of both sexes, and another for the maintenance of young women whose poverty might expose their virtue to danger. The heart of this blessed man so burned with charity, that he was continually thinking and speaking of what might most contribute to promote the divine honour and the sanctification of souls; and he did wonders by the zealous Fathers of his society in all parts of the globe. He was entreated by many princes and cities of Italy, Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries to afford them some of his labourers. Under the auspicious protection of John III., King of Portugal, he sent St. Francis Xavier into the East Indies, where he gained a new world to the faith of Christ. He sent John Nugnez and Lewis Gonzales into the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco to instruct and assist the Christian slaves; in 1547, four others to Congo in Africa; in 1555, thirteen into Abyssinia, among whom John Nugnez was nominated by Pope Julius III.



patriarch of Ethiopia, and two others, bishops ; lastly, others into the Portuguese settlements in South America.

Pope Paul III. commissioned the Fathers James Laynez and Alphonsus Salmeron to assist, in quality of his theologians, at the Council of Trent. Before their departure St. Ignatius, among other instructions, gave them a charge in all disputations to be careful, above all things, to preserve modesty and humility, and to shun all confidence, contentiousness, or empty display of learning. F. Claudius Le Jay appeared in the same council as theologian of Cardinal Otho, Bishop of Ausberg. Many of the first disciples of St. Ignatius distinguished themselves in divers kingdoms of Europe, but none with greater reputation, both for learning and piety, than Peter Canisius, who was a native of Nimeguen, in the Low Countries, and having with wonderful success employed his zealous labours at Ingolstadt and in several other parts of Germany, and in Bohemia, died in the odour of sanctity, at Fribourg, in 1597, seventy-seven years old. Whilst F. Claudius Le Jay was at Trent, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, nominated him Bishop of Trieste. The good Father seemed ready to die of grief at this news, and wrote to St. Ignatius, humbly requesting him to put some bar to this promotion. The holy founder was himself alarmed, and by a pressing letter to the King, prevailed upon him not to do what would be an irreparable prejudice to his young society. He urged to the Pope and sacred college many reasons why he desired that all the Fathers of his society should be excluded from all ecclesiastical dignities, alleging that this would be a means more easily to preserve among them a spirit of humility and poverty, which is the very soul and perfection of their state ; and that, being missionaries, it was more advantageous to the Church that they should remain such, always ready to fly from pole to pole, as the public necessities should require. The Pope being satisfied with his reasons, the saint obliged all professed Jesuits to bind themselves by a simple vow never to seek prelatures, and to refuse them when offered, unless compelled by a precept of the Pope to accept them.

In 1546 the Jesuits first opened their schools in Europe, in the college which St. Francis Borgia had erected for them in Gandia, with the privileges of a university. The seminary of Goa in Asia, which had been erected some years before for the Indian missions, was committed to the Jesuits, under the direction of St. Francis Xavier, the preceding year. King John also founded for them, in 1546, a noble college at Coimbra, the second which they had in Europe. F. Simon Rodriguez directed this establishment, and many others in Portugal, Spain, and Brazil, and died at Lisbon in the highest reputation for sanctity and learning in 1579. Among

the rules which St. Ignatius gave to the masters, he principally inculcated the lessons of humility, modesty, and devotion ; he prescribed that all their scholars should hear Mass every day, go to confession every month, and always begin their studies by prayer ; that their masters should take every fit occasion to inspire them with the love of heavenly things ; and that by daily meditation, self-examinations, pious reading, retreat, and the constant exercise of the divine presence, they should nourish in their own souls a fervent spirit of prayer, which, without the utmost care, is extinguished by a dry course of studies and school disputations, and with it is destroyed the very soul of a religious or spiritual life. He recommended nothing more earnestly, both to professors and scholars, than that they should dedicate all their labours, with the greatest fervour, to the glory of God, which intention will make studies equal to prayer. He treated very harshly all those whom learning rendered self-conceited, or less devout ; and removed all those masters who discovered any fondness for singular opinions. It is incredible with what attention and industry he promoted emulation and every means that could be a spur to scholars. He required that copies of some of the principal literary performances should be sent from all the colleges to Rome, where he had them examined before him, that he might better judge of the progress both of masters and scholars.

He encouraged every branch of the sciences, and would have the Fathers in his society applied to those functions, whether in teaching, preaching, or the missions, for which God seemed chiefly to qualify and destine them by their genius, talents, and particular graces, yet so that no one should neglect the duties either of assiduous prayer and an interior life, or of instructing and catechising others. He recommended to them all, especially to the masters of novices, etc., to read diligently the conferences, lives, and writings of the Fathers of the desert, and other pious ascetics, in order to learn their spirit. With what success many among them did this appears from the practice of "Christian Perfection," compiled by F. Alphonsus Rodriguez, one of the most eminent persons whom our saint had admitted into his society. In this excellent work he gathered and digested, in a clear and easy method, the most admirable maxims and lessons of the ancient monks ; and having many years trained up, according to them, the novices of his order in Spain, died holily in the year 1616, the ninetieth of his age. We have other eminent instances of this holy spirit and science among the primitive disciples of St. Ignatius in the works of F. Lewis de Ponte, or Puente, who died in 1624, and whose canonization has been often desired by the

kings of Spain ; in those of F. Alvarez de Paz, who died in Peru, in 1620 ; and in the writings and life of F. Baltassar, who died in Spain, in 1580, in the odour of sanctity.

St. Francis Borgia, in 1551, gave a considerable sum towards building the Roman college for the Jesuits. Pope Julius III. contributed largely to it ; Paul IV., in 1555, founded it for perpetuity with great munificence ; afterward Gregory XIII. much augmented its buildings and revenues. St. Ignatius, intending to make this the model of all his other colleges, neglected nothing to render it complete, and took care that it should be supplied with the ablest masters in all the sciences, and with all possible helps for the advancement of literature. He made it a strict rule in the society that every one should study to speak correctly the language of the country where he lives ; for, without being perfect in the vulgar tongue, no one can be qualified to preach or perform many other functions with profit. On this account he established in the Roman college daily lessons in the Italian tongue, and he carefully studied that language, and appointed others to put him in mind of all the faults which he should commit in speaking. St. Ignatius also directed the foundation of the German college in Rome, made by Julius III., but afterward finished by Gregory XIII. He often met with violent persecutions, but overcame them by meekness and patience. When the French king, Henry II., gave the society letters patent to settle in France, the parliament of Paris made the most outrageous remonstrances, and the faculty of Sorbon, though not without opposition, passed a virulent decree against it. The other Fathers at Rome thought it necessary to answer these censures, but St. Ignatius would have nothing printed or written in their defence, saying that it was better to commit their cause to God, and that the slanders raised against them would fall of themselves, and so it happened. Indeed, the storm was too violent to last. Upon other occasions the saint modestly defended his institute against slanderers.

The prudence and charity of the saint in his conduct towards his religious won him all their hearts. His commands seemed rather entreaties. The address with which he accommodated himself to everyone's particular genius, and the mildness with which he tempered his reproofs, gave to his reprehensions a sweetness which gained the affections whilst it corrected a fault. Thus, chiding one for his too little guard over his eyes, he said to him with tenderness, " I have often admired the modesty of your deportment, yet observe that unguarded glances often escape you." When another had fixed his eye steadfastly upon him a long time, the saint enjoined him to make the government of his

eye the subject of his particular examination, and to say every day a short prayer for fifteen months. He extremely recommended a strict modesty in the whole exterior as the index of the interior, and a means absolutely necessary for the regulating of it, and the government of the senses and passions. He always showed the affection of the most tender parent towards all his brethren, especially towards the sick, for whom he was solicitous to procure every spiritual and even temporal succour and comfort, which it was his great delight to give them himself. The most perfect obedience and self-denial were the two first lessons which he inculcated to his novices, whom he told at the door as they entered that they must leave behind them all self-will and private judgment. In his famous letter to the Portuguese Jesuits, "On the Virtue of Obedience," he says, this alone bringeth forth and nourisheth all other virtues; and calls it the particular virtue and distinguishing mark and characteristic of his society, in which, if any member suffer himself to be outdone by those of other orders in fasting or watching, that he must yield to none in obedience. He adds, true obedience must reach the understanding as well as the will, and never suffer a person even secretly to complain of, or censure the precept of a superior, whom he must always consider as vested with the authority of Jesus Christ over him. He says, it is not a less fault to break the laws of obedience in watching than in sleeping, in labouring than in doing nothing!

When F. Araos, whose spiritual labours were very successful in the court of Spain, seemed to seek the conversation of the great ones of the world, upon pretence of conciliating their favour to his ministry, St. Ignatius sent him a sharp reprimand, telling him that the necessary authority for the ministers of the Word of God is to be gained only by a spirit of recollection and the exercises of Christian humility, for the loss of everything is to be feared in an intercourse with the great ones of the world. He used to say that prosperity caused in him more fear than joy, that when persecution ceased he should be in apprehension lest the society should somewhat relax in the observance of its regular discipline, that good fortune is never to be trusted, and that we have most to fear when things go according to our desires. He made a most severe regulation that in the society no one should ever visit women, even of the highest quality, alone; and that when they discoursed with them, or heard their confessions, this should be so ordered, that the companion might see all that passed, without hearing what ought to be secret, this being the means to prevent the possibility of evil suspicions or slanders. In the assigning the employments of those under his charge, he had usually a regard to their inclina-

tions, though he always required that, on their parts, they should be wholly indifferent, and disposed cheerfully to accept and discharge any.

Notwithstanding the fatigue and constant application which the establishment of his order in all parts of the world, and so many other great enterprises undertaken to promote the glory of God, required, he was all on fire with an excess of charity, and a restless desire of gaining souls to God, and wearied himself out in the service of his neighbour, always labouring to extirpate vice, and to promote virtue in all, and set on foot several practices which might conduce to the divine service and the salvation of men. It is not to be believed how many and how great affairs this blessed man was able to go through, and with what courage and spirit he bore so continual a burden, and this with so weak health and infirm body. But he was assisted by the powerful hand of our Lord, that furnished him with strength for all his labours, so that he then appeared strongest and most courageous when he was weary, sickly, and unprovided of human and natural helps; for, in his infirmity, the power of God manifested itself, and the saint seemed to support the weakness of his body with the vigour of his soul. This interior strength he chiefly maintained by an eminent spirit of prayer, and the constant and closest union of his soul with God. For he was favoured with an extraordinary grace of devotion, which he, out of humility, thought God had given him out of compassion for his weakness and misery, which he said was greater than that of any other. In saying the holy Mass, and reciting the divine office, the abundance of heavenly delights which God poured into his soul was often so great, and made such showers of tears stream from his eyes, that he was obliged to stop in a manner at every word, sometimes to make a considerable interruption whilst he gave vent to his tears. It was once feared lest his continual effusion of tears should hurt his eyesight. At other times, though his eyes were dry at his devotion, and the sluices of his tears were shut up, yet their influence and effect was not wanting; for his spirit was still watered with heavenly dew, and the divine illustrations ceased not to flow copiously into his soul.

In matters of concern, though reasons were ever so convincing and evident, he never took any resolution before he had consulted God by prayer. He let not an hour pass in the day without recollecting himself interiorly, and examining his conscience, for this purpose banishing for a while all other thoughts. He never applied his mind so much to exterior affairs as to lose the sweet relish of interior devotion. He had God always and in all things present

to his mind. Every object served him for a book, wherein he read the divine perfections, and by that means raised his heart to his Creator. He recommended this manner of prayer to everyone, especially to those who are employed in spiritual functions for the help of their neighbour. Before he betook himself to public or private prayer, he prepared his soul with great fervour, and entering into the oratory of his heart, enkindled his affections, so that this appeared in his countenance, and he seemed to be all on fire, as we ourselves frequently observed, says Ribadeneira. The saint being once asked by F. Lainez what manner of prayer he used, gave this answer, that in matters concerning Almighty God he behaved himself rather passively than actively. He prayed sometimes standing, and profoundly adored the majesty of God present to his soul; he often bowed his body low, and most frequently prayed on his knees. No sooner had he recollected his mind in God but his countenance put on an air which appeared altogether heavenly, and often streams of tears fell sweetly from his eyes.

He prescribed to the priests of his order to be about half an hour at the altar in saying Mass, to avoid on one side the least appearance of indecent hurry and precipitation in that tremendous sacrifice; and on the other, not to be tedious to the people by unseasonably indulging their private devotion. Nevertheless, he was himself about an hour in saying Mass, to excuse which he alleged the plea of necessity, being often obliged to make pauses through an irresistible tenderness of devotion. After Mass he spent two hours in private prayer, during which time no one was admitted to speak to him except on some pressing necessity. F. Lewis Gonzales, who for some time governed the college under him, says, "As often as I went to him at that time, which necessity frequently obliged me to do, I always saw his face shining with an air so bright and heavenly, that, quite forgetting myself, I stood astonished in contemplating him. Nor was his countenance like that of many devout men in whom I have admired a wonderful serenity at their prayers, but it breathed something quite unusual, and, as it were, divine." On other occasions the like was remarked in him, on which account F. Lainez compared him to Moses when he came from conversing with God. Nicholas Lanoy testified that he one day saw a fire flame on his head whilst he was saying Mass. St. Philip Neri, who often visited St. Ignatius, used to assure his friends that he had seen his face shining with bright rays of light, as F. Antony Galloni, his disciple and confidant in all his concerns, and Marcellus Vitelleschi declared they had often heard from his own mouth, of which Cardinal Taurusius, Archbishop of Sienna, published an authentic certificate. John Petronius, a famous

physician in Rome, declared publicly that when sick he once saw his own chamber, which was then very dark by reason of the windows being shut, filled with a dazzling light from such rays upon the blessed man's coming into it. Isabel Rosella, John Pascal, and several other persons testified that they had sometimes beheld his countenance at prayer sparkling with radiant beams of light, the abundant consolations which replenished his soul redounding on his body. John Pascal added that he had seen him in prayer raised more than a foot above the ground, and heard him say at the same time, "O my God! O my Lord! Oh, that men knew Thee!" The saint was often favoured, amidst the tears and fervour of his devotion, with wonderful raptures, visions, and revelations; and some of these visions and other supernatural favours St. Ignatius mentioned himself in short notes which he wrote, and which were found in his own hand after his death, some of which notes are published by F. Bartoli. Others are mentioned by Ribadeneira, who inserted in the saint's life, as he declares, only what himself had seen, or had heard from his mouth, or from persons of unquestionable authority, and whose life of his holy founder, by the order of St. Francis Borgia, was carefully examined and approved by the principal persons then living who had frequently conversed with the saint, as Salmeron, Bobadilla, Polancus, who had been the saint's secretary, Natalis, etc.

If the spirit of prayer was that virtue by which our saint was admitted to the familiar intercourse with God, was the key which unlocked to him the treasure of all other virtues and graces, and was the continual comfort, support, and light of his soul, and the constant advancement of its supernatural life in its mortal pilgrimage, this spirit was itself founded in the most perfect self-denial. The Holy Ghost never communicates Himself by the infusion of this grace but to a heart that is entirely dead to itself and its passions, and crucified to the world. This St. Ignatius understood so well that hearing another once say that a certain person was endowed with a great gift of contemplation, and was eminently a man of prayer, he corrected the expression, saying, "Call him rather a man of the most perfect self-denial," because the spirit of grace and prayer requires a perfect purity and disengagement from all inordinate affections, and a heart empty to itself. This victory over himself the saint obtained by an habitual practice of the exterior mortification of his senses, and by that perfect patience, resignation, and confidence in God, and constancy with which he bore the most severe interior and exterior trial. To complete the most essential interior mortification of his will and passions he added the practice of an unlimited obedience to his directors and superiors,

and of the most profound and sincere humility. Even when broken with age and infirmities, he said, that should His Holiness command it, he would with joy go on board the first ship he could find ; and if he were so ordered, though it had neither sails nor rudder, and without any warning, would immediately set out for any part of the globe. It was his perpetual lesson to his novices—"Sacrifice your will and judgment by obedience. Whatever you do without the consent of your spiritual guide will be imputed to wilfulness, not to virtue, though you were to exhaust your bodies by labours or austerities."

Humility is the sister virtue of obedience, the foundation of a spiritual life, and the distinguishing mark or characteristic of all the saints. This virtue St. Ignatius embraced with the utmost ardour from the first entering upon a spiritual course of life. He went a long time in old tattered rags, and lived in hospitals, despised, affronted, and persecuted ; this he desired, and in it he found his great joy and satisfaction. He ever retained this affection for humiliations, out of a sincere contempt of himself, for acknowledging himself a sinner, he was thoroughly persuaded that contempt and injuries from all creatures, as instruments of the divine justice, were his due, and that he was most unworthy of all comforts, favour, or regard. Nothing but charity and zeal to procure his neighbour's good restrained him from doing ridiculous things on purpose to be laughed at by all ; and he always practised such humiliations as were consistent with prudence and his other duties. All his actions and whatever belonged to him breathed an air of sincere humility. His apparel was poor, though clean ; his bed was very mean, and his diet coarse, and so temperate, that it was a perpetual abstinence. He employed himself often most cheerfully in the meanest offices about the house, as in making beds, and in cleansing the chambers of the sick. It was his great study to conceal his virtues, and nothing was more admirable in his life than the address with which he covered his most heroic actions under the veil of humility. Though he was superior, he frequently submitted to inferiors with wonderful meekness and humility, when he could do it without prejudice to his authority. In things of which he was not certain, he readily acquiesced in the judgment of others ; and was a great enemy to all positiveness, and to the use of superlatives in discourse. He received rebukes from any one with cheerfulness and thanks. If in his presence anything was said that redounded to his praise, he showed an extreme confusion, which was usually accompanied with many tears. He was seldom heard to speak of himself, and never but on very pressing occasions. Though visions, revelations, and the



like favours were frequently vouchsafed him, he scarce ever mentioned such things ; but all his discourse was of humility, charity, patience, divine zeal, prayer, mortification, and other such virtues, of which we are to make the greatest account, and by which alone men become saints and friends of God. Ribadeneira heard him say that every one in the house was to him an example of virtue, and that he was not scandalized at anyone besides himself. It was his usual saying that he did not think there was a man in the world that on one side received from God so great and continual favours, and yet on the other side was so ungrateful and so slothful in His service as himself. It was his desire that after his death his body might be thrown upon some dunghill, in punishment of the sins he had committed by pampering it. The chief reasons why he would have his order called "The Society of Jesus" were lest his name should be given it, and that his followers might be known by their love and zeal for their Redeemer. As often as he spoke of his order, he called it, "This least society," for he would have his children to look upon themselves as the last and least of all persons in the Church.

From the perfect mortification of all his passions and inordinate affections resulted an admirable peace and evenness of mind which nothing seemed able ever to disturb or ruffle. His contempt of the world appeared by the disinterestedness with which he rejected legacies and presents whenever they might give occasion to complaints. When he looked up towards the heavens, he used feelingly to repeat, "How contemptible doth earth appear when I behold the heavens !" Charity, or the most ardent and pure love of God, was the most conspicuous, and the crown of all his other virtues. He had often in his mouth these words, which he took for his motto or device, "To the greater glory of God," referring to this end, with all his strength, himself, his society, and all his actions, in which he always chose that which appeared to him the most perfect. He often said to God, "Lord, what do I desire, or what can I desire beside Thee !" True love is never idle, and always to labour, to promote God's honour, or to suffer for His sake, was this saint's greatest pleasure. He said that no created thing can bring to a soul such solid joy and comfort as to suffer for Christ. Being asked what was the most certain and the shortest way to perfection, he answered, "To endure for the love of Christ many and grievous afflictions. Ask this grace of Our Lord : on whomsoever He bestoweth it, He does him many other signal favours, that always attend this grace." Out of this burning love of God, he most ardently desired the separation of his soul from his mortal body, when it should be God's will ; and, when he

thought of death, he could not refrain from tears of joy, because he should then see his loving Redeemer; and, beholding God face to face, should love and praise Him eternally, without let, abatement, or intermission.

From this same love of God sprang his ardent thirst for the salvation of men, for which he undertook so many and so great things, and to which he devoted his watchings, prayers, tears, and labours. When he dismissed any missionaries to preach the Word of God, he usually said to them, "Go, brethren, inflame the world, spread about that fire which Jesus Christ came to kindle on earth." To gain others to Christ he, with admirable address, made himself all to all, going in at *their* door, and coming out at *his own*. He received sincere penitents with the greatest sweetness and condescension, so as often to take upon himself part of their penance. When a brother, growing weary of the yoke of Christ, had determined to leave the society, St. Ignatius by his remonstrances made such an impression upon his heart, that falling at the feet of the general, he offered to undergo whatever punishment he would impose upon him. To which the saint replied, "One part of your penance shall be, that you never repent more of having served God. For the other part, I take it upon myself, and will discharge it for you." He endeavoured to bring all his penitents to make, without reserve, the perfect sacrifice of themselves to God, telling them, that it is not to be expressed what precious treasures God reserves for, and with what effusion He communicates Himself to those who give themselves to Him with their whole heart. He proposed to them for their model this prayer, which he used often to recite—"Receive, O Lord, all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my whole will. You have given me all that I have, all that I possess, and I surrender all to your divine will, that you dispose of me. Give me only your love, and your grace. With this I am rich enough, and I have no more to ask."

St. Ignatius was general of the society fifteen years three months and nine days, but was in the end so worn out with infirmities that he procured that the society should choose him an assistant in that office. This was F. Jerom Nadal. After which the saint reserved to himself only the care of the sick, and spent his time in continual prayer, and in preparing himself for death. By way of his last will and testament, he dictated certain holy maxims concerning the obligation and conditions of religious obedience, which he bequeathed to his brethren of the society. The saint, on the day before he died, charged F. Polancus to beg His Holiness's blessing for him at the article of death, though others at that time did not think it so near. The next morning having lifted up his

eyes and hands to heaven, and pronouncing, both with his tongue and heart, the sweet name of Jesus, with a serene countenance, he calmly gave up his happy soul into the hands of his Creator on the last day of July, in the year 1556, the sixty-fifth of his age, the thirty-fifth after his conversion, and the sixteenth after the confirmation of the society. The people esteemed him a saint both living and after his death ; and the opinion of his sanctity was confirmed by many miracles. He saw his society in a very few years divided into twelve provinces, with above one hundred colleges, and spread over almost the whole world. In 1626, it contained thirty-six provinces, and in them eight hundred houses, and fifteen thousand Jesuits, since which time it is much increased. St. Ignatius's body was buried first in the little church of the Jesuits, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin in Rome. When Cardinal Alexander Farnesius had built the stately church of the professed house called *Il Gesu*, it was translated thither in 1587 ; and, in 1617, was laid under the altar of the chapel, which bears his name. This church is one of the most magnificent piles of building in the world next to the Vatican, and is not less admired for the elegance of the architecture than for its riches, consisting in costly beautiful ornaments of gold, silver, jewels, exquisite paintings, statues, and carving, and a great profusion of fine marble. Among the many chapels which it contains, those of the Blessed Virgin, of the Angels, of SS. Abundius and Abundantius, martyrs, of St. Francis Borgia, and of St. Ignatius, are the admiration of travellers, especially the last, in which the remains of the holy founder lie, in a rich silver shrine under the altar, exposed to view. The other glittering rich ornaments of this place seem almost to lose their lustre when the statue of the saint is uncovered. It is somewhat bigger than the life, because raised high. Its bright shining gold, silver, and sparkling diamonds, especially in the crown of glory over the head, dazzle the eye. In the professed house are shown the pictures of St. Ignatius and St. Philip Neri, taken from the life. St. Ignatius's chamber is now a chapel ; his study is another, in which prelates, and sometimes popes, come to say Mass on the saint's festival. He was beatified by Paul V. in 1609, and canonized by Gregory XV. in 1622, though the bull was only published the year following by Urban VIII.

The example of the saints evinces that to disengage our affections from earthly things, and to converse much in heaven by the constant union of our hearts to God, is the short road to Christian perfection. Those who are employed in the active life ought to learn the art of accompanying all their actions with a lively attention to the divine presence, as our guardian angels are faithful in

discharging every duty of that external ministry which God hath committed to them, yet so as never to intermit their contemplation of the Godhead, and their incessant homages of praise and love, which are the uninterrupted employment of their happy state. Without this precaution, by the hurry of dry studies, and even the discharge of the sacred ministry itself, the spirit of piety and devotion is extinguished in the heart, and the more sacred functions are easily profaned.

## SAINT JEROM, PRIEST,

DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.

A.D. 420.

ST. JEROM, who is allowed to have been, in many respects, the most learned of all the Latin Fathers, was born, not at Strigonium, now called Gran, situated upon the Danube in Lower Hungary, but at Stridonium, now Sdrigni, a small town upon the confines of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Italy, near Aquileia. He had a brother much younger than himself, whose name was Paulinian. His father, called Eusebius, was descended from a good family, and had a competent estate, but being persuaded that a good education is the most precious inheritance that a parent can leave to his children, took great care to have his son instructed in piety and in the first principles of literature at home, and afterward sent him to Rome. St. Jerom had there, for tutor, the famous pagan grammarian, Donatus (well known for his commentaries on Virgil and Terence), also Victorinus, the rhetorician, who, by a decree of the senate, was honoured with a statue in Trajan's Square. In this city he became master of the Latin and Greek tongues, read the best writers in both languages with great application, and made such progress in oratory, that he for some time pleaded at the bar ; but being left without a guide, under the discipline of a heathen master, in a school where an exterior regard to decency in morals was all that was aimed at, he forgot the sentiments of true piety, which had been instilled into him in his infancy, neglected sufficiently to restrain his passions, and was full only of worldly views. His misfortune confirms the truth of that important maxim, that though the advantages of emulation and mutual communication in studies be exceeding great with regard to learning, these are never to be purchased with danger to virtue ; nor is a youth to be trusted in public schools without the utmost precaution : both that he be under the watchful eye and prudent direction of a person who is sincerely pious and experienced, and that he be linked in society with virtuous companions, whose

gravity, inclinations, discourse, and whole deportment and spirit, may be to him a constant spur to all virtue, and a support and fence against the torrent of the world, or of the dangerous example of others. Jerom went out of this school free indeed from gross vices, but unhappily a stranger to a Christian spirit, and enslaved to vanity and the more refined passions, as he afterwards confessed and bitterly lamented.

Being arrived at man's estate, and very desirous of improving his studies, he resolved upon travelling, in order to further this design. Few means contribute more to give a knowledge of men and the world, and to enlarge a person's insight in all arts and sciences, and in every branch of useful knowledge, than travelling in polite and learned countries. But for this, maturity of age and judgment are requisite ; a foundation must have been first laid of a competent stock of knowledge, at least of the principles of all the arts in which a person seeks to improve himself, otherwise things will present to him only their surfaces or shells, he will see and hear without understanding, and his travels will at least be no more than an idle gratification of vain curiosity. The conversation of the wisest and best persons in every place is to be cultivated, the snares of the world and all bad company must be watchfully guarded against, and whatever can be any improvement in valuable knowledge must be diligently treasured up, in which even those that are best qualified for making proper observations will still find much pleasure and great advantage by a guide who is ready and able to point out whatever deserves notice, and to improve and be himself improved by mutual observations. Virtue being the greatest and most noble of all improvements of the human mind, challenges the first attention of the traveller, who will be able everywhere to meet with lessons of it in the example, maxims, and instructions of the good, and to learn weariness even from the snares of vice. Heroic practices and sentiments of piety, how much soever they are concealed, may be learned almost everywhere if conversation with the most experienced persons in virtue be sought, and the Spirit of God inspire an earnest desire of making such discoveries and improvements. Above all things, in travelling, great fervour and assiduity in all religious exercises are necessary, and frequent meditation must cherish and maintain pious sentiments, and serious reflection digest all the improvements of the mind. Personal duties and circumstances allow few the opportunity of travelling, and either by too much time, a wrong season of life, or a neglect of the necessary rules and conditions, it generally becomes a vicious rambling, and a school of sloth, trifling, and often of all the passions. Most travel so as to

unhinge the whole frame of their minds, by living in constant dissipation, so as to verify the motto that few become by it more holy. As for modish modern travellers, whose chief study is the gratification of their passions, they import home little else but the slanders and impiety of foreign cities, and the vices of the most abandoned rakes, into whose company they must easily fall, in the countries through which they passed. Many ancient philosophers travelled for the sake of acquiring useful science ; fervent servants of God have sometimes left their cells (though redoubling their ardour in the practice of penance and recollection) to visit holy men for their own edification and instruction.

St. Jerom, in his first journeys, was conducted by the divine mercy into the paths of virtue and salvation. A vehement thirst after learning put him upon making a tour through Gaul, where the Romans had erected several famous schools, especially at Marseilles, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Autun, Lyons, and Triers. This latter was esteemed an imperial city, being in that age frequently honoured with the presence of the emperors, when Rome, by the attachment of many powerful senators to idolatry, and their regret for the loss of their ancient liberty and privileges, was not so agreeable a residence to its princes. The Emperor Gratian, a learned man, and a great lover of learning, who appointed out of his own revenue fixed salaries for the public masters of rhetoric and of the Greek and Latin languages in all great cities, distinguished the schools of Gaul with special favours, and above the rest, those of Triers, to whose professors he granted greater salaries than to those of other cities, and whither he drew Ausonius from Bordeaux. By prudent regulations he forbade the students of this city to frequent public diversions, or shows in the theatre, or to assist at great banquets or entertainments, and gave other strict orders for the regulation of their manners. Ausonius extols the eloquence and learning of the illustrious Harmonius and Ursulus, professors of eloquence at Triers. It had been St. Jerom's greatest pleasure at Rome to collect a good library, and to read all the best authors ; in this, such was his passion, that it made him sometimes forget to eat or drink. Cicero and Plautus were his chief delight. He purchased a great many books, copied several, and procured many to be transcribed by his friends.

He arrived at Triers with his friend Bonosus not long before the year 370, and it was in this city that the sentiments of piety which he imbibed in his infancy were awaked, and his heart was entirely converted to God, so that renouncing the vanity of his former pursuits, and the irregularities of his life, he took a resolution to devote himself wholly to the divine service in a state of

perpetual continence. From this time his ardour for virtue far surpassed that with which he had before applied himself to profane sciences, and he converted the course of his studies into a new channel. Being still intent on enriching his library, he copied at Triers St. Hilary's book "On Synods," and his Commentaries on the Psalms. Having collected whatever he could meet with in Gaul to augment his literary treasure, he repaired to Aquileia, where at that time flourished many eminent and learned men. St. Valerian, the bishop, had entirely cleared that Church of Arianism, with which it had been infected under his predecessor, and had drawn thither so many virtuous and learned men, that the clergy of Aquileia were famous over all the Western Church. With many of these St. Jerom contracted so great an intimacy that their names appear often in his writings. Among these, St. Chromatius, who was then priest, succeeded St. Valerian in the episcopal dignity, whose death happened in 387, on the 26th of November, as Fontanini demonstrates. To St. Chromatius St. Jerom afterward dedicated several of his works. This great bishop died on the 2nd of December, about the year 406. Among the other eminent clergymen of Aquileia at that time are reckoned St. Chromatius's two brothers, Jovinus, the archdeacon, and Eusebius, deacon; Heliodorus (who was ordained Bishop of Antino before the death of St. Valerian), and his nephew Nepotian; Nicetas, sub-deacon, and Chrysogonus, a monk. It appears from the Chronicle and Letters of St. Jerom that Heliodorus, Nepotian, Nicetus, and Florentius were also monks. The monastic state had been introduced in Italy by St. Athanasius, during his exile there, as St. Jerom testifies. Cardinal Noris observes that he made a long stay at Aquileia. By that great saint's account of the lives of St. Antony and other monks in Egypt, many were excited to imitate them, and a great monastery was founded at Aquileia, which the learned Fontanini calls the first in Italy, though others think St. Eusebius of Vercelli, upon his return from the East, had built one in his own city before this. Others were soon after erected at Rome, Milan, and in other places. When St. Athanasius committed to writing the life of St. Antony, he mentions that there were then several monasteries in Italy.

Tyranius Rufinus, famous first for his friendship and afterward for his controversies with St. Jerom, entered himself a monk at Aquileia, in 370, as is clear both from his own and St. Jerom's works. He was a native of Concordia, not the city of that name near Mirandola, but a small town in the territory of Aquileia, where, during the residence of St. Jerom in that city, he was baptized in the great church by St. Valerian, St. Chromatius,



Jovinus, and Eusebius assisting, whom, on this account, Rufinus afterward calls his three fathers or sponsors ; one being sponsor at catechism, another at baptism, and a third at confirmation. This testimony confutes the mistake of Dom Martenne, and Gerard Maestricht, who imagine that anciently no more than one sponsor was ever admitted for the same person. St. Jerom shut himself up in this monastery at Aquileia for some time, that he might with greater leisure and freedom pursue his studies, in the course of which he was closely linked in friendship with Rufinus, and with great grief saw himself, by some unknown accident, torn from his company. From what quarter this storm arose is uncertain, though it seems to have come from his own family. For he mentions, that paying his friends a visit, he found his sister had been drawn aside from the path of virtue. He brought her to a deep sense of her duty, and engaged her to make a vow of perpetual continency, in which affair he probably met with those difficulties which obliged him, for the sake of his own peace, to leave that country. His aunt Castorina, about the same time, vowed her continency to God.

St. Jerom returned to Rome, resolving to betake himself wholly to his studies and retirement. In his letters to Pope Damasus he testifies that he received at Rome the sacrament of regeneration ; Tillemont thinks this happened after his return from Aquileia, because the saint tells us that his merciful conversion to God happened when he resided near the Rhine. But Martianay and Fontanini more probably maintain that he was baptized before he left Rome to go into Gaul, though it was only at Triers that he engaged himself by vow to serve God in a state of perpetual continency. Experience soon convinced him that neither his own country nor Rome were fit places for a life of perfect solitude, at which he aimed, wherefore he resolved to withdraw into some distant country. Bonosus, his countryman and relation, who had been the companion of all his studies and travels from his infancy, did not enter into his views on this occasion, but retired into a desert island on the coast of Dalmatia, and there led a monastic life. Evagrius, the celebrated priest of Antioch, who was come into the West upon the affairs of that Church, offered himself to our saint to be his guide into the East ; and Innocent, Heliodorus, and Hylas (who had been a servant of Melania) would needs bear him company. They crossed Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia. Wherever he came he visited the anchorets and other persons of eminent sanctity whose conversation might afford him instruction and edification. At that time many such flourished in the East, especially in the deserts of

Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Rufinus names among those whose blessing he received in Egypt the two Macariuses, Isidore in Sceté, Pambo in the cells, Pœmen and Joseph in Pispher or the Mountain of Antony. St. Jerom reckons among them Amos, Macarius the disciple of Antony, etc. Amongst other holy rules which they observed, he takes notice in his letters to Rusticus that the monasteries of Egypt were wont to admit none who did not follow some manual labour, not so much for the necessity of their subsistence as for the sanctification of their souls.

Being arrived at Antioch, St. Jerom made some stay in that city to attend the lectures of Apollinaris, who had not yet openly broached his heresy, and then read comments upon the Scriptures with great reputation. St. Jerom had carried nothing with him but his library, and a sum of money to bear the charges of his journey. But Evagrius, who was rich, supplied him with all necessaries, and maintained several amanuenses to write for him and assist him in his studies. The saint, having spent some time at Antioch, went into a hideous desert, lying between Syria and Arabia, in the country of the Saracens, where the holy abbot Theodosius received him with great joy. The wilderness took its name from Chalcis, a town in Syria, and was situated in the diocese of Antioch. Innocent and Hylas soon died in this desert, and Heliodorus left it to return into the West; but Jerom spent there four years in studies, and the fervent exercises of piety. In this lonely habitation he had many fits of sickness, but suffered a much more severe affliction from violent temptations of impurity, which he describes as follows: "In the remotest part of a wild and sharp desert, which being burnt up with the heats of the scorching sun, strikes with horror and terror even the monks that inhabit it, I seemed to myself to be in the midst of the delights and assemblies of Rome. I loved solitude, that in the bitterness of my soul, I might more freely bewail my miseries, and call upon my Saviour. My hideous emaciated limbs were covered with sackcloth; my skin was parched dry and black, and my flesh was almost wasted away. The days I passed in tears and groans, and when sleep overpowered me against my will, I cast my wearied bones, which hardly hung together, upon the bare ground, not so properly to give them rest, as to torture myself. I say nothing of my eating and drinking, for the monks in that desert, when they are sick, know no other drink but cold water, and look upon it as sensuality ever to eat anything dressed by fire. In this exile and prison, to which, for the fear of hell, I had voluntarily condemned myself, having no other company but scorpions and wild beasts, I many times found my imagination filled with lively representations of

dances in the company of Roman ladies, as if I had been in the midst of them. My face was pale with fasting; yet my will felt violent assaults of irregular desires: in my cold body and in my parched-up flesh, which seemed dead before its death, concupiscence was able to live; and though I vigorously repressed all its sallies, it strove always to rise again, and to cast forth more violent and dangerous flames. Finding myself abandoned, as it were, to the power of this enemy, I threw myself in spirit at the feet of Jesus, watering them with my tears, and I tamed my flesh by fasting whole weeks. I am not ashamed to disclose my temptations, but I grieve that I am not now what I then was. I often joined whole nights to the days, crying, sighing, and beating my breast till the desired calm returned. I feared the very cell in which I lived, because it was witness to the foul suggestions of my enemy; and being angry and armed with severity against myself, I went alone into the most secret parts of the wilderness, and if I discovered anywhere a deep valley or a craggy rock, that was the place of my prayer, there I threw this miserable sack off my body. The same Lord is my witness, that after so many sobs and tears, after having in much sorrow looked long up to heaven, I felt most delightful comforts and interior sweetness; and these so great, that, transported and absorpt, I seemed to myself to be amidst the choirs of angels; and glad and joyful I sung to God: *'After Thee, O Lord, we will run in the fragrancy of Thy celestial ointments.'*"

In this manner does God, who often suffers the fidelity of His servants to be severely tried, strengthen them by His triumphant grace, and abundantly recompense their constancy. St. Jerom, among the arms with which he fortified himself against this dangerous enemy, added to his corporal austerities a new study, which he hoped would fix his rambling imagination, and, by curbing his will, give him the victory over himself. This was, after having dealt only in polite and agreeable studies, to learn of a converted Jew the Hebrew alphabet, and form his mouth to the uncouth aspirations and difficult pronunciation of that language. "When my soul was on fire with bad thoughts," says he, writing to the monk Rusticus in 411, "that I might subdue my flesh, I became a scholar to a monk who had been a Jew, to learn of him the Hebrew alphabet; and after I had most diligently studied the judicious rules of Quintilian, the copious flowing eloquence of Cicero, the grave style of Fronto, and the smoothness of Pliny, I inured myself to hissing and broken-winded words. What labour it cost me, what difficulties I went through, how often I despaired and left off, and how I began to learn, both I myself, who felt the burden, can witness, and they also who lived with me. And I

thank our Lord that I now gather sweet fruit from the bitter seed of those studies." However, he still continued to read the classics with an eagerness and pleasure which degenerated into a passion, and gave him just remorse, it being an impediment to the perfect disengagement of his affections, and the entire reign of God in his heart. Of this disorder he was cured by the merciful hand of God. The saint, in his long epistle to Eustochium, exhorting that virgin, who had embraced a religious state, to read only the Holy Scriptures and other books of piety and devotion, relates, that being seized with a grievous sickness in the desert, in the heat of a burning fever, he fell into a trance or dream, in which he seemed to himself arraigned before the dreadful tribunal of Christ. Being asked his profession, he answered, that he was a Christian. "Thou liest," said the judge; "thou art a Ciceronian: for the works of that author possess thy heart." The judge thereupon condemned him to be severely scourged by angels, the remembrance of which chastisement left a strong impression upon his imagination after his recovery, and gave him a deep sense of his fault. He promised the judge nevermore to read those profane authors. "And from that time," said he, "I gave myself to the reading of divine things with greater diligence and attention than I had ever read other authors." He indeed declares this to have been a dream; nevertheless he looked upon it as a divine admonition, by which he was put in mind of a fault incompatible with the perfection to which every Christian, especially a monk, ought to aspire. From that time he corrected this immoderate passion for reading the classics. Besides inferior trials and temptations, St. Jerom met with many persecutions from the world, of which he writes as follows: "Would to God that all the infidels would rise up together against me, for having defended the glory and the name of the Lord! I wish that the whole world would conspire in blaming my conduct, that I may by this means obtain the approbation of Jesus Christ. You are deceived if you think that a Christian can live without persecution. He suffers the greatest who lives under none. Nothing is more to be feared than too long a peace. A storm puts a man upon his guard, and obliges him to exert his utmost efforts to escape shipwreck."

A great schism at that time divided the Church of Antioch, some acknowledging Meletius, and others Paulinus, patriarch. The breach was considerably widened when the Apollinarist heretics chose Vitalis, a man of their sect, bishop of that great city. The monks in the desert of Chalcis warmly took part in this unhappy division, and were for compelling St. Jerom to declare to which of these candidates he adhered. Another con-

troversy among them was, whether one or three hypostases were to be acknowledged in Christ. The Greek word *hypostasis* was then ambiguous, being by some used for *nature*, by others for *person* or *subsistence*, though it is now taken only for the latter. The Arians on one side, and the Sabellians on the other, sought to ensnare the faithful under the ambiguity of this word. Our saint therefore stood upon his guard against their captious artifices, and answered with caution that if *nature* was understood by this word, there was but one in God; but if *person*, that there were three. Teased, however, by these importunities, and afflicted with a bad state of health, he left his wilderness, after having passed in it four years, and went to Antioch to his friend Evagrius. A little before he left his desert, he wrote two letters to consult St. Damasus, who had been raised to the papal throne at Rome in 366, what course he ought to steer. In the first he says: "I am joined in communion with your Holiness, that is, with the chair of Peter: upon that rock I know the Church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of that house is a profane person. Whoever is not in the ark shall perish in the flood. I do not know Vitalis; I do not communicate with Meletius; Paulinus is a stranger to me. Whoever gathers not with you scatters; that is, he who is not Christ's belongs to Antichrist. We ask what this word *hypostasis* signifies? They say, a subsisting person. We answer, that if that be the meaning of the word, we agree to it. Order me, if you please, what I should do." This letter was wrote toward the end of the year 376, or in the beginning of 377. The saint, not receiving a speedy answer, sent soon after another letter to Damasus on the same subject, in which he conjures His Holiness to answer his difficulties, and not despise a soul for which Jesus Christ died. "On one side," said he, "the Arian fury rages, supported by the secular power; on the other side, the Church (at Antioch) being divided into three parts, each would needs draw me to itself. All the time I cease not to cry out: 'Whoever is united to the chair of Peter, he is mine.'" The answer of Damasus is not extant; but it is certain that he and all the West acknowledged Paulinus patriarch of Antioch, and St. Jerom received from his hands at Antioch the holy order of priesthood before the end of the year 377, to which promotion he only consented on this condition, that he should not be obliged to serve that or any other Church in the functions of his ministry. Soon after his ordination he went into Palestine, and visited the principal holy places situated in different parts of that country, but made Bethlehem his most usual residence. He had recourse to the ablest Jewish doctors to inform himself of all particulars relating to all the remarkable places mentioned in

the sacred history, and he neglected no means to perfect himself in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. For this he addressed himself to the most skilful among the Jews; one of his masters, by whose instructions he exceedingly improved himself, spoke Hebrew with such gracefulness, true accent, and propriety of expression, that he passed among the Jewish doctors for a true Chaldean.

About the year 380, our saint went to Constantinople, there to study the Holy Scriptures under St. Gregory Nazianzen, who was then bishop of that city. In several parts of his works he mentions this with singular satisfaction, and gratitude for the honour and happiness of having had so great a master in expounding the divine oracles, as that most eloquent and learned doctor. Upon St. Gregory's leaving Constantinople, in 381, he returned into Palestine. Not long after, he was called to Rome, as he testifies. He went hither in the same year, 381, with St. Paulinus of Antioch and St. Epiphanius, who undertook that journey to attend a council which Damasus held about the schism of Antioch. The two bishops stayed the winter in Rome, and then returned into the East; but Pope Damasus detained St. Jerom with him, and employed him as his secretary in writing his letters, in answering the consultations of bishops, and in other important affairs of the Church.

Our holy doctor soon gained at Rome a universal love and esteem, on account of his religious life, his humility, eloquence, and learning. Many among the chief nobility, clergy, and monks sought to be instructed by him in the Holy Scriptures, and in the rules of Christian perfection. He was charged likewise with the conduct of many devout ladies, as St. Marcella, her sister Asella, and their mother Albina; Melania the elder (who is not less famous by the praises of St. Jerom than by those of Rufinus), Marcellina, Felicitas, Lea, Fabiola, Læta, Paula, and her daughters, with many others. The holy widow, St. Marcella, having lost her husband in the seventh month after her marriage, refused to marry Cerealis, who had been consul, retired to a country-house near Rome, and made choice of a monastic life forty years before this, in 341, under Pope Julius I., when St. Athanasius came to Rome, from whom she received an account of the life of St. Antony, who was then living. She was instructed by St. Jerom in the critical learning of the Holy Scripture, in which she made great progress, and learned in a short time many things which had cost him abundance of labour. St. Jerom, in one letter, explains to her the ten Hebrew names of God, and the Hebrew words which are adopted in the Church office. In another he explains the Ephod

and Teraphim, and so in others. St. Marcella died in 412, and St. Jerom wrote her funeral elegy to her spiritual daughter Principia. Lea was at the head of a monastery of virgins, whom she instructed more by example than by words. She used to spend whole nights in prayer; her clothes and food were very mean, but free from all affectation or ostentation. She was so humble that she appeared to be the servant of all her sisters, though she had formerly been mistress of a great number of slaves. The Church honours her memory on the 22nd of March. St. Jerom wrote her funeral elegy after her death, in 384.

Asella was consecrated to God at the age of ten years, and at twelve retired into a cell, where she lay on the ground, and lived upon bread and water, fasting all the year, and being often two or three days without eating, especially in Lent, yet her austerities did not impair her health. She used to work with her hands, and never went abroad, unless it was to visit the churches of the martyrs, and that she did without being seen. Nothing was more cheerful and pleasing than her severity, nor more grave than her sweetness. Her very speech proclaimed her love of recollection and silence, and her silence spake aloud to the heart. She never spoke to any man unless upon her spiritual necessities; even her sister Marcella could hardly ever see her. Her conduct was simple and regular, and in the midst of Rome she led a life of solitude. She was fifty years old in 384. Fabiola was of the illustrious Fabian family, and being obliged to be separated from her husband on account of his disorderly conduct, made use of the liberty allowed her by the civil laws, and took a second husband. After his death, finding this had been against the laws of the Gospel, she did public penance in the most austere and exemplary manner. After this she sold all her estate, and erected an hospital for the sick in Rome, where she served them with her own hands. She gave immense alms to several monasteries, which were built upon the coast of Tuscany, and to the poor in Italy and Palestine. She died at Rome about the year 400. The most illustrious of the Roman ladies whom St. Jerom instructed was St. Paula, who engaged him to accept of a lodging in her house during his abode in Rome, that she and her family might more easily have recourse to him for their spiritual direction. He tells us that Marcella, Paula, and Eustochium spoke, wrote, and recited the Psalter in Hebrew as perfectly as in the Greek and Latin tongues. The instruction of these and many other devout persons did not so engross our saint's time and attention but he was always ready to acquit himself of all that Pope Damasus recommended to his care, and, by other labours, to render im-

portant services to the Catholic Church. Pope Damasus died in December, 384, and was succeeded by Siricius. The freedom which St. Jerom took in reproving the reigning vices of avarice, vanity, and effeminacy (which invectives several among the clergy took to themselves) raised him many powerful enemies. The authority of Pope Damasus kept them in awe so long as he lived ; but, after his death, envy and calumny were let loose upon our saint. His reputation was attacked in the most outrageous manner ; even his simplicity, his manner of walking, his smiling, and the air of his countenance, were found fault with. Neither did the severe and eminent virtue of the ladies that were under his direction, nor the reservedness of his own behaviour, screen him from censures. St. Jerom, partly to yield to this persecution of envy, and partly to follow his own strong inclination to solitude, after having stayed about three years at Rome, resolved to return into the East, there to seek a quiet retreat. He embarked at Porto, in the month of August, in 385, with his young brother Paulinian, a priest called Vincent, and some others, having been attended from Rome to the ship by many pious persons of distinction. Landing at Cyprus, he was received with great joy by St. Epiphanius. At Antioch he visited the Bishop, Paulinus, who, when he departed, attended him a considerable part of the way to Palestine. He arrived at Jerusalem in the middle of winter, near the close of the year 385, and in the following spring went into Egypt to improve himself in sacred learning, and in the most perfect practices of the monastic institute. At Alexandria, he for a month received the lessons of the famous Didymus, and profited very much by his conversation, in 386. He visited the chief monasteries of Egypt, after which he returned into Palestine, and retired to Bethlehem. St. Paula, who had followed him thither, built for him a monastery, and put under his direction also the monastery of nuns, which she founded and governed. St. Jerom was also obliged to enlarge his own monastery, and for that purpose sent his brother Paulinian into Dalmatia to sell an estate which he still had there. For, as Sanchez and Suarez remark from this example, anciently private religious men could retain the dominion or a property in estates, though by their vows they renounced the administration, unless they exercised it by the commission of the abbot. St. Jerom also erected an hospital, in which he entertained pilgrims. It was thought that he could not be further instructed in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, but this was not his own judgment of the matter ; and he applied again to a famous Jewish master, called Bar-Ananias, who, for a sum of money, came to teach him in the night-time, lest the Jews



should know it. Church history, which is called one of the eyes of theology, became a favourite study of our holy doctor. All the heresies which were broached in the Church in his time found him a warm and indefatigable adversary.

Whilst he was an inhabitant of the desert of Chalcis, he drew his pen against the Luciferian schismatics. After the unhappy council of Rimini, in which many orthodox bishops had been betrayed, contrary to their meaning, into a subscription favourable to the Arians, St. Athanasius, in his council at Alexandria, in 362, and other Catholic prelates, came to a resolution to admit those prelates to communion upon their repentance. This indulgence displeased Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, a person famous for his zeal and writings against the Arians, in the reign of Constantius. He likewise took offence at the Oriental Catholic bishops refusing to hold communion with Paulinus, whom with his own hands he had consecrated bishop of Antioch, in the place of St. Eustathius. He carried matters so far as to separate himself from the communion of all those who admitted the bishops who had subscribed to the council of Rimini, even after they had made a reasonable satisfaction. This gave rise to his schism, in which he had some few followers at Antioch, in Sardinia, and in Spain. He is not accused of any error in faith. Leaving Antioch, where he had sown the first seeds of his schism, he returned into Sardinia, and to Cagliari, nine years after, in 371. St. Jerom composed a dialogue against the Luciferians, in which he plainly demonstrates, by the acts of the council of Rimini, that in it the bishops were imposed upon. In the same work he confutes the private heresy of Hilary, a Luciferian deacon at Rome, that the Arians, and all other heretics and schismatics, were to be rebaptized, on which account St. Jerom calls him the Deucalion of the world.

Our holy doctor, whilst he resided at Rome, in the time of Pope Damasus, in 384, composed his book against Helvidius, "On the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary." That heretic was an Arian priest, a disciple of the impious Auxentius, of Milan, and had wrote a book, in which he broached his error, that Mary did not remain always a virgin, but had other children by St. Joseph, after the birth of Christ. This heresy was also adopted by Jovinian, who having spent his youth at Milan in fasting, manual labour, and other austerities of a monastic state, left his monastery, went to Rome, and there began to spread his errors, which may be chiefly reduced to these four: that they who have been regenerated by baptism with perfect faith cannot be again vanquished by the devil; that all who shall have preserved the grace of baptism will have an equal reward in heaven; that vir-

gins have no greater merit before God than married women, if they are equal in other virtues ; and, that the Mother of God was not always a virgin ; lastly, that abstinence from certain meats is unprofitable. Jovinian lived at Rome in a manner suitable to his sensual principles. Though he still called himself a monk, and observed celibacy, he threw off his black habit, wore fine white stuffs, linen, and silks, curled his hair, frequented the baths and houses of entertainment, and was fond of sumptuous feasts and delicate wines. St. Pammachius and certain other noble laymen were scandalized at his new doctrine, and having met with a writing of Jovinian, in which these errors were contained, carried it to Pope Siricius, who assembled his clergy in 390, condemned the same, and cut off Jovinian, and eight others (who are named together as authors of this new heresy), from the communion of the Church. Upon this, Jovinian, and the rest that were condemned, withdrew to Milan, and Siricius sent thither the sentence of condemnation he had published against them, with a brief confutation of their errors, so that they were rejected there by everybody with horror, and driven out of the city. St. Ambrose also held a council of seven bishops who happened then to be at Milan, in which these errors were again condemned. Two years after this, St. Jerom wrote two books against Jovinian. In the first, he shows the merit and excellency of holy virginity embraced for the sake of virtue, which he demonstrates from St. Paul, and other parts of the New Testament, from the tradition and sense of the Church, from the celibacy of its ministers, and from the advantages of this state for piety, especially for the exercises of prayer, though he grants marriage to be holy in the general state of the world. Jovinian himself confessed the obligation of bishops to live continent, and that a violation of a vow of virginity is a spiritual incest. Our saint, in his second book, confutes the other errors of that heresiarch. Certain expressions in this work seemed to some persons in Rome harsh and derogatory from the honour due to matrimony, and St. Pammachius informed St. Jerom of the offence which some took at them. The holy doctor wrote his "Apology" to Pammachius, sometimes called his third book against Jovinian, in which he shows, from his own book, which had raised this clamour, that he commended marriage as honourable and holy, and protests that he condemns not even second or third marriages. He repeated the same thing in a letter which he wrote to Domnio, about the same time, and upon the same subject.

In the year 404, Riparius, a priest in Spain, wrote to St. Jerom, to acquaint him that Vigilantius, a native of Convenæ, now called

Comminges, in Gaul, but a priest of Barcelona, depreciated the merit of holy virginity, and condemned the veneration of relics, calling those who paid it idolaters and Cinerarians, or worshippers of ashes. St. Jerom, in his answer, exclaimed loudly against those novelties, and said: "We do not adore the relics of the martyrs; but we honour them that we may adore Him whose martyrs they are. We honour the servants, that the respect which is paid to them may be reflected back on the Lord." He prayed Riparius to send him Vigilantius's book, which he no sooner received, than he set himself to confute it in a very sharp style. He shows, first, the excellency of virginity, and the celibacy of the clergy, from the discipline observed in the three patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. He vindicates the honour paid to martyrs from idolatry, because no Christian ever adored them as gods. Vigilantius complained, that their relics were covered with precious silks. St. Jerom asked him if Constantius was guilty of sacrilege when he translated to Constantinople, in rich shrines, the relics of SS. Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, in the presence of which the evil spirit roars? or Arcadius, when he caused the bones of Samuel to be carried out of Palestine to Thrace, where they were deposited with the greatest honour and solemnity, in a church built in honour of that prophet near the Hebdomon? In order to show that the saints pray for us, St. Jerom saith, "If the apostles and martyrs, being still living upon earth, can pray for other men, how much more may they do it after their victories! Have they less power now they are with Jesus Christ?" He insists much on the miracles wrought at their tombs. Vigilantius said they were for the sake of the infidels. The holy doctor answers, they would still be no less a proof of the power of the martyrs, and, testifying his respect for these relics and holy places, he says of himself: "When I have been molested with anger, evil thoughts, or nocturnal illusions, I have not dared to enter the churches of the martyrs." He mentions, that the bishops of Rome offered up sacrifices to God over the venerable bones of the apostles Peter and Paul, and made altars of their tombs. He accuseth Eunomius of being the author of this heresy, and says, that if his new doctrine were true, all the bishops in the world would be in an error. He defends the institution of vigils and the monastic state; and says, that a monk seeks his own security by flying occasions and dangers, because he mistrusteth his own weakness, and is sensible that there is no safety if a man sleeps near a serpent. St. Jerom often speaks of the saints in heaven praying for us. Thus he entreated Heliodorus to pray for him when he should be in glory, and told St. Paula, upon the death of her

daughter Blesilla : "She now prayeth the Lord for you, and obtaineth for me the pardon of my sins."

Our saint was also engaged in a long war against Origenism. Few ever made more use of Origen's works, and no one seemed a greater admirer of his erudition than St. Jerom declared himself for a considerable time ; but finding in the East that several monks and others had been seduced into grievous errors by the authority of his name, and some of his writings, our saint joined St. Epiphanius in warmly opposing the spreading evil. This produced a violent quarrel between him and his old friend Rufinus, after an intimacy of twenty-five years ; the latter everywhere extolling the authority of Origen, and having translated into Latin the most erroneous of all his works, though it afterward appeared by his conduct that he had no design to favour the pestilential heresies of the Origenists, who denied the eternity of the torments of hell, held the pre-existence of souls, the plurality of worlds succeeding one another to eternity, and other errors. St. Jerom could suffer no heresy to pass without his censure. Being informed by one Ctesiphon that the errors of Pelagius made great progress in the East, and that many were seduced by them, he wrote him a short confutation thereof in 414. He again handled the same questions in his "Dialogue against the Pelagians," which he published in 416. In these dialogues he writes : "I will answer them that I never spared heretics and have done my utmost endeavours that the enemies of the Church should be also my enemies." He was deeply concerned to hear of the plundering of Rome by Alaric in 410, and of the cruel famine which succeeded that calamity. Many Romans fled as far as Bethlehem, and it was the charitable employment of our saint to entertain them, and give them all possible succour and comfort. He was shocked at the sight of such a number of noble fugitives of both sexes, reduced at once to beggary ; after possessing immense riches, now seeking food and shelter, naked, wounded ; and still, as they wandered about, exposed to the insults of barbarians, who thought them loaded with gold : all these miseries forced tears from the saint's eyes whilst he was endeavouring to find means to assist them. When Demetrius, daughter of the consul Olibrius, took the religious veil at Carthage, her mother Juliana, and her grandmother Proba, wrote to St. Jerom, praying him to give her some instructions for her conduct. In order to comply with their request, he wrote her a long letter, in which he directed her how she was to serve God, recommending to her pious reading, the exercise of penance, constant but moderate fasting, obedience, humility, modesty, almsdeeds, prayers at all hours of the day and working daily with

her hands. He would have her rather choose to dwell in a nunnery with other virgins, than to live alone, as at that time some did.

Nothing has rendered the name of St. Jerom so famous as his critical labours on the Holy Scriptures. For this the Church acknowledges him to have been raised by God through a special providence, and particularly assisted from above; and she styles him the greatest of all her doctors in expounding the divine oracles. Pope Clement VIII. scruples not to call him a man, in translating the Holy Scriptures, divinely assisted and inspired. He was furnished with the greatest helps for such an undertaking, living many years upon the spot, whilst the remains of ancient places, names, customs, which were still recent, and other circumstances, set before his eyes a clearer representation of many things recorded in Holy Writ than it is possible to have at a great distance of place and time, as the multitude of lizards, and many other circumstances, which still occur in the country where Virgil wrote his "*Bucolics*," paint a lively image of his beautiful similes and allusions, so that the eye seems almost to behold the objects, and the other senses are in like manner struck with them, almost as if they were present. The Greek and Chaldaic were then living languages, and the Hebrew, though it had ceased to be such from the time of the captivity, was not less perfectly understood and spoke among the doctors of the law in its full extent and with the true pronunciation. It was carefully cultivated in the Jewish academy, or great school of Tiberias, out of which St. Jerom had a master. It is long since become very imperfect, reduced to a small number of radical words, and only to be learned from the Hebrew Bible, the only ancient book in the world extant in that language. Most of the Rabbinical writers are more likely to mislead us in the study of the Hebrew sacred text than to direct us in it, so that we have now no means to come at many succours which St. Jerom had for his task. Among others, the Hexapla of Origen, which he possessed pure and entire, were not the least; and, by comparing his version with the present remains of those of Aquila, Theodotio, and Symmachus, we find he had often recourse to them, especially to that of Symmachus. Above other conditions, it is necessary that an interpreter of the Holy Scriptures be a man of prayer and sincere piety. This alone can obtain light and succour from heaven, give to the mind a turn and temper which are necessary for being admitted into the sanctuary of the divine oracles, and present the key. Our holy doctor was prepared by a great purity of heart, and a life spent in penance and holy contemplation, before he was called by God to this important undertaking.

A Latin translation of the Bible was made from the Greek in the time of the apostles, and probably approved or recommended by some of them, especially, according to Rufinus, by St. Peter, who, as he says, sat twenty-five years at Rome. That it was the work of several hands is proved by Milles, who, during the space of thirty years, examined all the editions and versions of the sacred text with indefatigable application, by Calmet, and Blanchini. In the fourth century great variations had crept into the copies, as St. Jerom mentions, so that almost every one differed. For many that understood Greek undertook to translate anew some part, or to make some alterations from the original. However, as Blanchini observes, these alterations seem to have been all grafted upon, or inserted in the first translation, for they seem all to have gone under the name of the Latin Vulgate, or Common Translation. Amongst them one obtained the name of the Italic, perhaps because it was chiefly used in Italy and Rome; and this was far preferable to all the other Latin editions, as St. Austin testifies. To remedy the inconvenience of this variety of editions, and to correct the faults of bold or careless copiers, Pope Damasus commissioned St. Jerom to revise and correct the Latin version of the Gospels by the original Greek, which this holy doctor executed to the great satisfaction of the whole Church. He afterward did the same with the rest of the New Testament. This work of St. Jerom's differs very much in the words from the ancient Italic. It insensibly took place in all the Western Churches, and is the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, which is now everywhere in use. The edition of the Greek Septuagint, which was inserted in Origen's "Hexapla," being the most exact extant, St. Jerom corrected by it the ancient Italic of many books of the Old Testament, and twice the psalter: first, by order of Pope Damasus at Rome, about the year 382, and a second time, at Bethlehem, about the year 389.

His new translation of the books of the Old Testament writ in Hebrew, made from that original text, was a more noble and more difficult undertaking. Many motives concurred to engage him in this work, as the earnest entreaties of many devout and illustrious friends, the preference of the original to any version, how venerable soever, and the necessity of answering the Jews, who in all disputations would allow no other. He did not translate the books in order, but began by the books of Kings, and took the rest in hand at different times. This translation of St. Jerom's was received in many churches in the time of St. Gregory the Great, who gave it the preference. And in a short time after, St. Isidore of Seville wrote that all churches made use of it. They

retained the ancient Italic version of the psalter, which they were accustomed to sing in the divine office ; but admitted by degrees, in some places the first, in others the second correction of St. Jerom upon the Seventy ; and this is printed in the Vulgate Bible, not his translation. The old Italic without his correction is still sung in the church of the Vatican, and in St. Mark's at Venice. The books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, the two books of the Maccabees, the prophecy of Baruch, the epistle of Jeremy, the additions at the end of Esther, and the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Daniel, and the Canticle of the Three Children, are in the ancient Vulgate, because they were not translated by St. Jerom, not being extant in Hebrew or Chaldaic. The rest of the Old Testament in the present Vulgate is taken from the translation of St. Jerom, except certain passages retained from the old Vulgate or Italic.

St. Jerom's translation of the Bible was correctly published by Dom Martianay, under the title of his Sacred Library ; this composes the first volume of his works in the Benedictin edition. This saint ascertained the geographical description of ancient Palestine, by translating, correcting, and enlarging Eusebius's book "On the Holy Places" and by his letters to Dardanus and Fabiolo. In several little treatises and epistles he has cleared a great number of critical difficulties relating to the Hebrew text of the Holy Bible. In his commentaries "On the Prophets" he inquires after the sense of the Hebrew text or Truth, as he calls it, to which he scrupulously adheres, though he compares it with all the ancient Greek translations. He adds short allegorical explications, and professes that he sometimes inserts certain opinions and interpretations of Origen and others, without adopting or approving them. His "Commentary on St. Matthew" he calls only an essay which he wrote in the compass of a few days, to satisfy the importunity of a friend, with an intention to enlarge and improve it when he should have leisure for such an undertaking, which he never found.

St. Jerom, toward the end of his life, was obliged to interrupt his studies by an incursion of barbarians, who penetrated through Egypt into Palestine, and some time after by the violences and persecutions of the Pelagians, who after the Council of Diospolis, in 416, relying on the protection of John of Jerusalem, sent the year following a troop of seditious banditti to Bethlehem, to assault the holy monks and nuns who lived there under the direction of St. Jerom. Some were beaten, and a deacon was killed by them. The heretics set fire to all the monasteries, and reduced them to ashes. St. Jerom with great difficulty escaped their fury by a timely

flight, retiring to a strong castle. The two virgins, St. Eustochium and her niece, the younger Paula, were exposed to still greater dangers, and saw their habitation consumed by fire, and those that belonged to them most barbarously beaten before their faces. After this storm St. Jerom continued his exercises and labours, hated by all the enemies of the Church, but beloved and revered by all good men, as St. Sulpicius Severus and St. Austin testify. Having triumphed over all vices, subdued the infernal monster of heresies, and made his life a martyrdom of penance and labours, at length by a fever, in a good old age, he was released from the prison of his body, in the year 420, on the 30th of September. His festival is mentioned in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, and in the Martyrologies of Bede, Usuard, etc. He was buried in a vault at the ruins of his monastery at Bethlehem; but his remains lie at present in the church of St. Mary Major at Rome. St. Jerom made the meditation on death and divine judgments the great employment of his solitude. The following saying is by some ascribed to him: "Whether I eat or drink, or whatever else I do, the dreadful trumpet of the last day seems always sounding in my ears! Arise, ye dead, and come to judgment!"

It was equally in spirit of penance, and of zeal to advance the divine honour, that this holy doctor applied himself with such unwearied diligence to those sacred studies by which he rendered most eminent services to the Church. The commentaries of the ancient Fathers on the divine oracles are not all equally useful. Allegorical interpretations, unless pointed out by some inspired writer, serve chiefly to convey that moral instruction which they contain, and to introduce which they have been sometimes employed by great men in familiar discourses to the people. Of all commentaries those are most useful which expound the mysteries of faith, or dwell on and enforce Christian virtues by motives founded in the literal genuine sense of the sacred writings, in which inspired words the perfect spirit, and, as it were, the marrow of all virtues is contained. It is only by assiduous humble meditation on the sacred text that its inexhausted riches in this respect, concealed in every tittle, can be understood. The admirable comments of St. Jerom will be an excellent guide and key; by making some parts of them familiar to us, we shall inure ourselves to this method in our application to these sacred studies. We must bring with us that spirit of prayer and that humble docility by which so many holy doctors have been rendered faithful interpreters of the Word of God. The tradition of the Church must be our direction. Without an humble submission to this light we are sure to be led astray, and the most learned



men who do not stick close to this rule (as experience and the most sacred authority conspire to teach us) tread in the steps of all those whose study of the Scriptures has hurt the Church instead of serving her, as Dr. Hare, the learned Bishop of Chichester, observes. For, says he, "the orthodox faith does not depend upon the Scriptures considered in themselves, but as explained by Catholic tradition." As the solid interpretation of the sacred books is founded in the genuine and literal sense, to give this its fullest extent and force in every particle, the aid of sober criticism is to be called in, in which, among the Latin Fathers, no one equals St. Jerom. But then his moderation must be imitated. What can be more absurd than that, in explaining the oracles of God, their end should be forgot, and kept out of sight; that interpreters should stop at the shell, and spend all their time in grammatical and critical niceties, and make the divine truth an object of idle amusement and curiosity, or a gratification of foolish sinful vanity in displaying an empty show of philosophical learning, and insignificant criticism? This is the case of many huge volumes of modern commentators, in which Christ and virtue are scarce named in the pretended expositions of those divine oracles which point out nothing but them. This made Mr. Reeves, an ingenious Protestant divine, say, "The example of St. Jerom shows that criticism was not neglected by the Fathers in interpreting and vindicating the Holy Scriptures; but they were chiefly solicitous in beautifully applying the types, figures, and prophecies, in setting forth Christ, and in bringing men to Him. Whereas the learned Grotius and many other moderns are so jejune and empty, and so strangely sparing upon Our Lord's divinity, etc., that, upon comparison, there seems to me," says this author, "as much difference between the ancients and some moderns, as between a man, himself, and his clothes stuffed with straw."

## SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,

ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.

A.D. 407.

THIS incomparable doctor, on account of the fluency and sweetness of his eloquence, obtained soon after his death the surname of Chrysostom, or Golden Mouth, which we find given him by St. Ephrem of Antioch, Theodoret, and Cassiodorus. But his tender piety, and his undaunted courage and zeal in the cause of virtue, are titles far more glorious, by which he holds an eminent place among the greatest pastors and saints of the Church. About the year 344, according to F. Stilling, Antioch, the capital city of the East, was ennobled by his illustrious birth. He had one elder sister, and was the only son and heir of Secundus, master of the horse, that is chief commander of the imperial troops in Syria. His mother Anthusa, left a widow at twenty years of age, continued such the remainder of her life, dividing her time between the care of her family and the exercises of devotion. Her example in this respect made such an impression on our saint's master, a celebrated pagan sophist, that he could not forbear crying out, "What wonderful women have the Christians!" She managed the estate of her children with great prudence and frugality, knowing this to be part of her duty to God, but she was sensible that their spiritual instruction in virtue was of infinitely greater importance. From their cradle she instilled into them the most perfect maxims of piety, and contempt of the world. The ancient Romans dreaded nothing more in the education of youth than their being ill taught the first principles of the sciences, it being more difficult to unlearn the errors then imbibed, than to begin on a mere *tabula rasa*, or blank paper. Wherefore Anthusa provided her son the ablest masters in every branch of literature which the empire at that time afforded. Eloquence was esteemed the highest accomplishment, especially among the nobility, and was the surest means of raising men to the first dignities in the state. John studied that art under Libanius, the most famous orator of that age, and

such was his proficiency that even in his youth he excelled his masters. Libanius being asked by his pagan friends on his death-bed, about the year 390, who should succeed him in his school, "John," said he, "had not the Christians stolen him from us." Our saint was then priest. Whilst he was only a scholar, that sophist one day read to an assembly of orators a declamation composed by him, and it was received with unusual tokens of admiration and applause. • Libanius pronounced the young orator happy, "as were also the emperors," he said, "who reigned at a time when the world was possessed of so great a treasure." The progress of the young scholar in philosophy, under Andragatius, was no less rapid and surprising; his genius shone in every disputation. All this time his principal care was to study Christ and to learn His spirit. He laid a solid foundation of virtue, by a perfect humility, self-denial, and a complete victory over himself. Though naturally hot and inclined to anger, he had extinguished all emotions of passion in his breast. His modesty, meekness, tender charity, and singular discretion, rendered him the delight of all he conversed with.

The first dignities of the empire were open to John. But his principal desire was to dedicate himself to God, without reserve, in holy solitude. However, not being yet twenty years of age, he for some time pleaded at the bar. In that employment he was drawn by company into the diversions of the world, and sometimes assisted at the entertainments of the stage. His virtue was in imminent danger of splitting against that fatal rock, when God opened his eyes. He was struck with horror at the sight of the precipice upon the brink of which he stood; and not content to flee from it himself, he never ceased to bewail his blindness, and took every occasion to caution the faithful against that lurking place of hellish sirens, but more particularly in his vehement sermons against the stage. Alarmed at the danger he had narrowly escaped, full of gratitude to God his deliverer, and to prevent the like danger for the time to come, he was determined to carry his resolution of renouncing the world into immediate execution. He began by the change of his garb, to rid himself the more easily of the importunities of friends, for a penitential habit is not only a means for preserving a spirit of mortification and humility, but is also a public sign and declaration to the world that a person has turned his back on its vanities, and is engaged in an irreconcilable war against them. His clothing was a coarse grey coat; he watched much, fasted every day, and spent the greater part of his time in prayer and meditation on the Holy Scriptures; his bed was no other than the hard floor. In subduing his passions, he

found none of so difficult a conquest as vain-glory ; this enemy he disarmed by embracing every kind of public humiliation. The clamours of his old friends and admirers, who were incensed at his leaving them, and pursued him with their invectives and censures, were as arrows shot at random. John took no manner of notice of them : he rejoiced in contempt, and despised the frowns of a world whose flatteries he dreaded : Christ crucified was the only object of his heart, and nothing could make him look back after he had put his hand to the plough. And his progress in virtue was answerable to his zealous endeavours.

St. Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, called the young ascetic to the service of the Church, gave him suitable instructions, during three years, in his own palace, and ordained him Reader. John had learned the art of silence, in his retirement, with far greater application than he had before studied that of speaking. This he discovered when he appeared again in the world, though no man ever possessed a greater fluency of speech, or a more ready and enchanting eloquence, joined with the most solid judgment and a rich fund of knowledge and good sense ; yet in company he observed a modest silence, and regarded talkativeness as an enemy to the interior recollection of the heart, as a source of many sins and indiscretions, and as a mark of vanity and self-conceit. He heard the words of the wise with the humble docility of a scholar, and he bore the impertinence, trifles, and blunders of fools in discourse, not to interrupt the attention of his soul to God, or to make an ostentatious show of his eloquence or science ; yet with spiritual persons he conversed freely on heavenly things, especially with a pious friend named Basil, one of the same age and inclinations with himself, who had been his most beloved school-fellow, and who forsook the world to embrace a monastic life, a little before our saint. After three years, he left the Bishop's house to satisfy the importunities of his mother, but continued the same manner of life in her house, during the space of two years. He still saw frequently his friend Basil, and he prevailed on two of his school-fellows under Libanius to embrace an ascetic life, Theodorus, afterward Bishop of Mopsuestia, and Maximus, Bishop of Seleucia. The former returned in a short time to the bar, and fell in love with a young lady called Hermione. John lamented his fall with bitter tears before God, and brought him back to his holy institute by two tender and pathetic exhortations to penance, "which breathe an eloquence above the power of what seems merely human," says Sozomen. Not long after, hearing that the bishops of the province were assembled at Antioch, and deliberated to raise him and Basil to the episcopal dignity, he privately with-

drew, and lay hid till the vacant sees were filled. Basil was made Bishop of Raphanæa, near Antioch, and had no other resource in his grief for his promotion but in tears and complaints against his friend who had betrayed him into so perilous a charge. John, being then twenty-six years old, wrote to him in his own justification six incomparable books, "Of the Priesthood."

Four years after, in 374, he retired into the mountains near Antioch, among certain holy anchorëts who peopled them, and whose manner of life is thus described by our saint: They devoted all the morning to prayer, pious reading, and meditating on the Holy Scriptures. Their food was bread with a little salt; some added oil, and those who were very weak a few herbs or pulse; no one ever eat before sunset. After the refection it was allowed to converse with one another, but only on heavenly things. They always closed their night-prayers with the remembrance of the last judgment, to excite themselves to a constant watchfulness and preparation, which practice St. Chrysostom earnestly recommends to all Christians with the evening examination. These monks had no other bed than a mat spread on the bare ground. Their garments were made of the rough hair of goats or camels, or of old skins, and such as the poorest beggars would not wear, though some of them were of the richest families, and had been tenderly brought up. They wore no shoes; no one possessed anything as his own; even their poor necessities were all in common. They inherited their estates only to distribute them among the poor; and on them, and in hospitality to strangers, they bestowed all the spare profits of their work. They all used the same food, wore an uniform habit, and by charity were all one heart. The cold words "mine" and "thine," the baneful source of lawsuits and animosities among men, were banished from their cells. They rose at the first crowing of the cock, that is, at midnight, being called up by the superior; and after the morning hymns and psalms, that is, matins and lauds, all remained in their private cells, where they read the Holy Scriptures, and some copied books. All met in the church at the canonical hours of tierce, sext, none, and vespers, but returned to their cells, none being allowed to speak, to jest, or to be one moment idle. The time which others spend at table, or in diversions, they employed in honouring God; even their meal took up very little time, and after a short sleep (according to the custom of hot countries), they resumed their exercises, conversing not with men, but with God, with the prophets and apostles in their writings and pious meditation; and spiritual things were the only subject of their entertainment. For corporal exercise they employed themselves in some mean manual

labour, such as entertained them in humility, and could not inspire vanity or pride : they made baskets, tilled and watered the earth, hewed wood, attended the kitchen, washed the feet of all strangers, and waited on them without distinction, whether they were rich or poor. The saint adds, that anger, jealousy, envy, grief, and anxiety for worldly goods and concerns, were unknown in these poor cells ; and he assures us that the constant peace, joy, and pleasure which reigned in them, were as different from the bitterness and tumultuous scenes of the most brilliant worldly felicity, as the security and calmness of the most agreeable harbour are from the dangers and agitation of the most tempestuous ocean. Such was the rule of these cenobites, or monks, who lived in community. There were also hermits on the same mountains who lay on ashes, wore sackcloth, and shut themselves up in frightful caverns, practising more extraordinary austerities. Our saint was at first apprehensive that he should find it an insupportable difficulty to live without fresh bread, use the same stinking oil for his food and for his lamp, and inure his body to hard labour under so great austerities. But by courageously despising this apprehension, in consequence of a resolution to spare nothing by which he might learn perfectly to die to himself, he found the difficulty entirely to vanish in the execution. Experience shows that in such undertakings, the imagination is alarmed not so much by realities as phantoms, which vanish before a courageous heart which can look them in the face with contempt. Abbot Rancé, the reformer of La Trappe, found more difficulty in the thought of rising without a fire in winter, in the beginning of his conversion, than he did in the greatest severities which he afterwards practised. St. Chrysostom passed four years under the conduct of a veteran Syrian monk, and afterward two years in a cave as an hermit. The dampness of this abode brought on him a dangerous distemper, and for the recovery of his health he was obliged to return into the city. By this means he was restored to the service of the Church in 381, for the benefit of innumerable souls. He was ordained deacon by St. Meletius that very year, and priest by Flavian in 386, who at the same time constituted him his vicar and preacher, our saint being then in the forty-third year of his age. He discharged all the duties of that arduous station during twelve years, being the hand and the eye of his bishop, and his mouth to his flock. The instruction and care of the poor he regarded as his first obligation ; this he always made his favourite employment and his delight. He never ceased in his sermons to recommend their cause and the precept of alms-deeds to the people. Antioch, he supposes, contained at that

time one hundred thousand Christian souls ; all these he fed with the Word of God, preaching several days in the week, and frequently several times on the same day. He confounded the Jews and Pagans, also the Anomæans, and other heretics. He abolished the most inveterate abuses, repressed vice, and changed the whole face of that great city. It seemed as if nothing could withstand the united power of his eloquence, zeal, and piety.

Theodosius I. finding himself obliged to levy a new tax on his subjects, on occasion of his war with Maximus, who had usurped the western empire in 387, the populace of Antioch, provoked at the demand, mutinied, and discharged their rage on the Emperor's statue, those of his father, his two sons, and his late consort Flavilla, dragged them with ropes through the streets, and then broke them to pieces. The magistrates durst not oppose the rabble in their excesses. But as soon as their fury was over, and they began to reflect on what they had been guilty of, and the natural consequences of their extravagances, they were all seized with such terror and consternation, that many abandoned the city, others absconded, and scarce any durst appear publicly in the streets. The magistrates in the meantime were filling the prisons with citizens, in order to their trials, on account of their respective share in the combustion. Their fears were heightened on the arrival of two officers despatched from Constantinople to execute the Emperor's orders with regard to the punishment of the rioters. The reports which were spread abroad on this occasion imported, that the Emperor would cause the guilty to be burned alive, would confiscate their estates, and level the city with the ground. The consternation alone was a greater torment than the execution itself could have been. Flavian, notwithstanding his very advanced age, and though his sister was dying when he left her, set out without delay, in a very severe season of the year, to implore the Emperor's clemency in favour of his flock. Being come to the palace, and admitted into the Emperor's presence, he no sooner perceived that prince but he stopped at a distance, holding down his head, covering his face, and speaking only by his tears, as though himself had been guilty. Thus he remained for some time. The Emperor seeing him in this condition, carrying as it were the weight of the public guilt in his breast, instead of employing harsh reproaches, as Flavian might naturally have expected, summed up the many favours he had conferred on that city, and said at the conclusion of each article, "Is this the acknowledgment I had reason to expect? Is this their return for my love? What cause of complaint had they against me? Had I ever injured them? But granting that I had, what can they allege for extending their

insolence even to the dead? Had they received any wrong from them? Why were they to be insulted too? What tenderness have I not shown on all occasions for their city? Is it not notorious that I have given it the preference in my love and esteem to all others, even to that which gave me birth? Did not I always express a longing desire to see it, and that it gave me the highest satisfaction to think I should soon be in a condition of taking a journey for this purpose?"

Then the holy Bishop, being unable to bear such stinging reproaches or vindicate their conduct, made answer, "We acknowledge, sir, that you have on all occasions favoured us with the greatest demonstrations of your singular affection; and this it is that enhances both our crime and our grief, that we should have carried our ingratitude to such a pitch as to have offended our best friend and greatest benefactor; hence whatever punishment you may inflict upon us, it will still fall short of what we deserve. But alas! the evil we have done ourselves is worse than innumerable deaths, for what can be more afflicting than to live, in the judgment of all mankind, guilty of the blackest ingratitude, and to see ourselves deprived of your sweet and gracious protection, which was our bulwark? We dare not look any man in the face; no, not the sun itself. But as great as our misery is, it is not irremediable; for it is in your power to remove it. Great affronts among private men have often been the occasion of great charity. When the devil's envy had destroyed man, God's mercy restored him. That wicked spirit, jealous of our city's happiness, has plunged her into this abyss of evils, out of which you alone can rescue her. It is your affection, I dare say it, which has brought them upon us, by exciting the jealousy of the wicked spirits against us. But like God Himself, you may draw infinite good out of the evil which they intended us. If you spare us, you are revenged on them.

"Your clemency on this occasion will be more honourable to you than your most celebrated victories. It will adorn your head with a far brighter diadem than that which you wear, as it will be the fruit only of your own virtue. Your statues have been thrown down; if you pardon this insult, you will raise yourself others, not of marble or brass, which time destroys, but such as will exist eternally in the hearts of all those who will hear of this action. Your predecessor, Constantine the Great, when importuned by his courtiers to exert his vengeance on some seditious people that had disfigured his statues by throwing stones at them, did nothing more than stroke his face with his hand, and told them smiling, that he did not feel himself hurt. This his saying is yet in the mouths of all men, and a more illustrious trophy to his memory



than all the cities which he built, than all the barbarous nations which he subdued. Remember your own memorable saying, when you ordered the prisons to be opened, and the criminals to be pardoned at the Feast of Easter, 'Would to God I were able in the same manner to open the graves, and restore the dead to life!' That time is now come. Here is a city whose inhabitants are already dead; and is, as it were, at the gates of its sepulchre. Raise it, then, as it is in your power to do, without cost or labour. A word will suffice. Suffer it by your clemency to be still named among the living cities. It will then owe more to you than to its very founder. He built it small; you will raise it great and populous. To have preserved it from being destroyed by barbarians would not have been so great an exploit, as to spare it on such an occasion as now offers.

"Neither is the preservation of an illustrious city the only thing to be considered; your own glory, and, above all, the honour of the Christian religion are highly interested in this affair. The Jews and pagans, all barbarous nations, nay, the whole world, have their eyes fixed on you at this critical juncture; all are waiting for the judgment you will pronounce. If it be favourable, they will be filled with admiration, and will agree to praise and worship that God who checks the anger of those who acknowledge no master upon earth, and who can transform men into angels; they will embrace that religion which teaches such sublime morality. Listen not to those who will object that your clemency on this occasion may be attended with, and give encouragement to the like disorders in other cities. That could only happen if you spared for want of a power to chastise; but whereas you do not divest yourself by such an act of clemency of this power, and as by it you endear and rivet yourself the more in the affections of your subjects, this, instead of encouraging such insults and disorders, will rather the more effectually prevent them. Neither immense sums of money nor innumerable armies could ever have gained you so much the hearts of your subjects and their prayers for your person and empire, as will this single action. And if you stand fair for being such a gainer from men, what rewards may you not reasonably expect from God? It is easy for a master to punish, but rare and difficult to pardon.

"It will be extremely glorious to you to have granted this pardon at the request of a minister of the Lord, and it will convince the world of your piety, in that you overlooked the unworthiness of his person, and respected only the power and authority of that Master who sent him. For though deputed immediately by the inhabitants of Antioch to deprecate your just

displeasure on this occasion, it is not only in their name that I appear in this place, for I am come from the sovereign Lord of men and angels to declare to you in His name, that, if you pardon men their faults, He will forgive you your sins. Call to mind then that dreadful day on which we shall all be summoned to give in an account of all our actions. Reflect on your having it now in your power, without pain or labour, to efface your sins, and to find mercy at that terrible tribunal. You are about to pronounce your own sentence. Other ambassadors bring gold, silver, and other like presents, but as for me, I offer nothing but the law of God, and entreat you to imitate His example on the Cross." He concluded his harangue by assuring the Emperor that if he refused to pardon the city, he would nevermore return to it, nor look upon that city as his country which a prince of his humane disposition could not prevail upon himself to pardon.

This discourse had its desired effect on the Emperor, who with much difficulty suppressed his tears while the Bishop spoke, whom he answered in these few words: "If Jesus Christ, the Lord of all things, vouchsafed to pardon and pray for those very men that crucified Him, ought I to hesitate to pardon them who have offended me? I, who am but a mortal man like them, and a servant of the same Master." The patriarch, overjoyed at his success, prostrated himself at the Emperor's feet, wishing him a reward for such an action suitable to its merit. And whereas the prelate made an offer of passing the Feast of Easter with the Emperor at Constantinople, he, to testify how sincerely he was reconciled to the city of Antioch, urged his immediate return, saying, "Go, Father, delay not a moment the consolation your people will receive at your return, by communicating to them the assurances of the pardon I grant them; I know they must be in great affliction." The Bishop set out accordingly; but, to delay as little as possible the joy of the citizens, he despatched a courier before him with the Emperor's letter of pardon, which produced a comfortable change in the face of affairs. The Bishop himself arrived time enough before Easter to keep that solemnity with his people. The joy and triumph of that city could not be greater; it is elegantly described by St. Chrysostom, extolling above all things the humility and modesty of Flavian, who attributed the whole change of Theodosius's mind, and all the glory of the action, to God alone. The discourse which Flavian addressed to the Emperor, except the introduction, had been composed by St. Chrysostom, who recited it to the people to comfort them, and ceased not strongly to exhort them to penance, and the fervent exercise of good works, during the whole time of their bishop's absence.

After this storm our saint continued his labours with unwearied zeal, and was the honour, the delight, and the darling not of Antioch only, but of all the East, and his reputation spread itself over the whole empire. But God was pleased to call him to glorify His name on a new theatre, where He prepared for his virtue other trials, and other crowns.

St. Chrysostom had been five years deacon, and twelve years priest, when Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, dying in 397, the Emperor Arcadius, at the suggestion of Eutropius the eunuch, his chamberlain, resolved to procure the election of our saint to the patriarchate of that city. He therefore despatched a secret order to the Count of the East, enjoining him to send John to Constantinople, but by some stratagem, lest his intended removal, if known at Antioch, should cause a sedition, and be rendered impracticable. The Count repaired to Antioch, and desiring the saint to accompany him out of the city to the tombs of the martyrs, on the pretence of devotion, he there delivered him into the hands of an officer sent on purpose, who, taking him into his chariot, conveyed him with all possible speed to the imperial city. Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, a man of a proud and turbulent spirit, was come thither to recommend a creature of his own to that dignity. He endeavoured by illegal practices secretly to traverse the canonical promotion of our saint; but was detected, and threatened to be accused in a synod. Whereupon he was glad to desist from his intrigues, and thus John was consecrated by him on the 26th of February, in 398. In regulating his own conduct and his domestic concerns, he retrenched all the great expenses which his predecessors had entailed on their dignity, which he looked upon as superfluous, and an excessive prodigality, and these sums he applied to the relief of the poor, especially of the sick. For this purpose he erected and maintained numerous hospitals, under the government of holy and charitable priests, and was very careful that all the servants and attendants were persons of great virtue, tenderness, compassion, and prudence. His own family being settled in good order, the next thing he took in hand after his promotion was the reformation of his clergy. This he forwarded by zealous exhortations and proper rules for their conduct, tending both to their sanctification and exemplarity. And to give these his endeavours their due force, he lived an exact model of what he inculcated to others; but his zeal exasperated the tepid part of that order, and raised a storm against himself. The immodesty of women in their dress in that gay capital excited in him sentiments of the most just abhorrence and indignation. Some young ladies seemed to have forgot that clothing is the

covering of the ignominy of sin, and ought to be an instrument of penance, and a motive of confusion and tears, not of vanity. But the exhortations of St. Chrysostom moved many to despise and lay aside the use of purple, silks, and jewels. It was a far more intolerable scandal that some neglected to cover their necks, or used such thin veils as served only to invite the eyes of others more boldly. Our saint represented to such persons that they were in some respects worse than public prostitutes, for these hide their baits at home only for the wicked; "but you," said he, "carry your snare everywhere, and spread your nets publicly in all places. You allege that you never invited others to sin. You did not by your tongue, but you have done it by your dress and deportment more effectually than you could by your voice: when you have made another to sin in his heart, how can you be innocent? You sharpened and drew the sword; you gave the thrust by which the soul is wounded. Tell me whom does the world condemn? whom do judges punish? Those who drink the poison, or those who prepare and give the fatal draught? You have mingled the execrable cup; you have administered the potion of death: you are so much more criminal than poisoners, as the death which you cause is the more terrible; for you murder not the body, but the soul. Nor do you do this to enemies; nor compelled by necessity, nor provoked by any injury; but out of a foolish vanity and pride. You sport yourselves in the ruin of the souls of others, and make their spiritual death your pastime." Hence, he infers how false and absurd their excuse is in saying, they mean no harm. These and many other scandals he abolished. He suppressed the wicked custom of swearing, first at Antioch, then at Constantinople. By the invincible power of his eloquence and zeal he tamed the fiercest sinners, and changed them into meek lambs; he converted an incredible number of idolaters and heretics. His mildness towards sinners was censured by the Novatians; he invited them to repentance with the compassion of the most tender father, and was accustomed to cry out, "If you are fallen a second time, or even a thousand times into sin, come to me, and you shall be healed." But he was firm and severe in maintaining discipline, though without harshness; to impenitent sinners he was inflexible. To mention one instance of the success of his holy zeal out of the many which his sermons furnish: in the year 399, the second of his episcopacy, on Wednesday in Holy Week, so violent a rain fell as to endanger the corn, and threaten the whole produce of the country. Here-upon public processions were made to the church of the apostles by the Bishop and people, to avert the scourge by imploring the

intercession chiefly of St. Peter, St. Andrew (who is regarded as the founder of the church of Byzantium), St. Paul, and St. Timothy. The rain ceased, but not their fears. Therefore they all crossed the Bosphorus to the church of SS. Peter and Paul, on the opposite side of the water. This danger was scarce over when on the Friday following many ran to see certain horse-races, and on Holy Saturday to games exhibited at the theatre. The good Bishop was pierced to the quick with grief, and on the next day, Easter Sunday, preached a most zealous and eloquent sermon, Against the Games and Shows of the Theatre and Circus. Indignation made him not so much as mention the paschal solemnity ; but by an abrupt exordium he burst into the most vehement pathos, as follows, "Are these things to be borne? Can they be tolerated? I appeal to yourselves ; be you your own judges. Thus did God expostulate with the Jews." This exclamation he often repeated to assuage his grief. He put the people in mind of the sanctity of our faith ; of the rigorous account we must give to God of all our moments, and the obligation of serving Him incumbent on us from His benefits, who has made for us the heaven and earth, the sun, light, rivers, etc. The saint grieved the more because after all, they said they had done no harm, though they had murdered not only their own souls, but also those of their children. "And how will you," said he, "after this approach the holy place? How will you touch the heavenly food? Even now do I see you overwhelmed with grief, and covered with confusion. I see some striking their foreheads, perhaps those who have not sinned, but are moved with compassion for their brethren. On this account do I grieve and suffer, that the devil should make such a havoc in such a flock. But if you join with me, we will shut him out. By what means? If we seek out the wounded, and snatch them out of his jaws. Do not tell me their number is but small : though they are but ten, this is a great loss ; though but five, but two, or only one. The shepherd leaving ninety-nine did not return till he had completed his number by recovering that sheep which was lost. Do not say, it is only one ; but remember that it is a soul for which all things visible were made ; for which laws were given, miracles wrought, and mysteries effected ; for which God spared not His only Son. Think how great a price hath been paid for this one sheep, and bring him back to the fold. If he neither hears your persuasions nor my exhortations, I will employ the authority with which God hath invested me." He proceeds to declare such excommunicated. The consternation and penance of the city made the holy pastor forbear any further censure, and to commend their conversion. Palladius writes that he had the

satisfaction to see those who had been most passionately fond of the entertainments of the stage and circus, moved by his sermons on that subject, entirely renounce those schools of the devil. God is more glorified by one perfect soul than by many who serve with tepidity. Therefore, though every individual of his large flock was an object of his most tender affection and pastoral concern, those were particularly so who had secluded themselves from the world, by embracing a religious state of life, the holy virgins and nuns. Describing their method of life, he says, their clothing was sack-cloth, and their beds only mats spread on the floor; that they watched part of the night in prayer, walked barefoot, never eat before evening, and never touched so much as bread, using no other food than pulse and herbs, and that they were always occupied in prayer, manual labour, or serving the sick of their own sex. The spiritual mother, and the son of this holy company, St. Nicareta, is honoured December the 27th. Among the holy widows who dedicated themselves to God under the direction of this great master of saints, the most illustrious were the truly noble ladies St. Olympias, Salvina, Procula, and Pantadia. This last (who was the widow of Timasus, formerly the first minister to the Emperor) was constituted by him deaconess of the Church of Constantinople. Widows he considered as by their state called to a life of penance, retirement, and devotion; and he spared no exhortations or endeavours to engage them faithfully to correspond to the divine grace, according to the advice which St. Paul gives them. St. Olympias claimed the privilege of furnishing the expenses of the saint's frugal table. He usually ate alone; few would have been willing to dine so late, or so coarsely and sparingly as he did; and he chose this to save both time and expenses; but he kept another table in a house near his palace, for the entertainment of strangers, which he took care should be decently supplied. He inveighed exceedingly against sumptuous banquets. All his revenues he laid out on the poor, for whose relief he sold the rich furniture which Nectarius had left; and once in a great dearth, he caused some of the sacred vessels to be melted down for that purpose. This action was condemned by Theophilus, but is justly regarded by St. Austin as a high commendation of our holy prelate. Besides the public hospital near his cathedral, and several others which he founded and maintained, he erected two for strangers. His own patrimony he had given to the poor long before, at Antioch. His extraordinary charities obtained him the name of John of Almsdeeds. The spiritual necessities of his neighbour were objects of far greater compassion to his tender charity. His diocese, nay the whole world, he

considered as a great hospital of souls, spiritually blind, deaf, sick, and in danger of perishing eternally ; many standing on the brink, many daily falling from the frightful precipice into the unquenchable lake. Not content with tears and supplications to the Father of mercies for their salvation, he was indefatigable in labours and in every endeavour to open their eyes ; feared no dangers, no not death itself in its most frightful shapes, to succour them in their spiritual necessities, and prevent their fall. Neither was this pastoral care confined to his own flock or nation : he extended it to the remotest countries. He sent a bishop to instruct the Nomades or wandering Scythians ; another, an admirable man, to the Goths. Palestine, Persia, and many other distant provinces felt the most beneficent influence of his zeal. He was himself endued with an eminent spirit of prayer ; this he knew to be the great channel of heavenly graces, the cleanser of the affections of the soul from earthly dross, and the means which renders them spiritual and heavenly, and makes men angels, even in their mortal body. He was therefore particularly earnest in inculcating this duty, and in instructing others in the manner of performing it. He warmly exhorted the laity to rise to the midnight office of matins together with the clergy. "Many artisans," said he, "watch to labour, and soldiers watch as sentries ; and cannot you do as much to praise God ?" He observes, that the silence of the night is peculiarly adapted to devout prayer, and the sighs of compunction, which exercise we ought never to interrupt too long, and by watching, prayer becomes more earnest and powerful. Women he will not have to go easily abroad to church in the night-time ; but advises that even children rise in the night to say a short prayer, and as they cannot watch long, be put to bed again ; for thus they will contract from their infancy a habit of watching, and a Christian's whole house will be converted into a church. The advantages and necessity of assiduous prayer he often recommends with singular energy ; but he expresses himself on no subject with greater tenderness and force than on the excess of the divine love, which is displayed in the Holy Eucharist, and in exhorting the faithful to the frequent use of that heavenly sacrament. St. Proclus says, that he abridged the liturgy of his church. St. Nilus assures us, that he was often favoured with visions of angels in the church during the canonical hours, surrounding the altars in troops during the celebration of the divine mysteries, and at the communion of the people. The saint himself confidently avers, that this happens at those times, which he confirms by the visions of several hermits.

The public concerns of the state often called on the saint to

afford the spiritual succours of his zeal and charity. Eutropius was then at the head of affairs. He was an eunuch, and originally a slave, but had worked himself into favour with the Emperor Arcadius. In 395 he was instrumental in cutting off Rufinus, the chief minister, who had broke out into an open rebellion, and he succeeded the traitor in all his honours: golden statues were erected to him in several parts of the city, and what Claudian, Marcellinus in his chronicle, Suidas, and others, represent as the most monstrous event that occurs in the Roman Fasti, was declared consul, though an eunuch. Being placed on so high a pinnacle, a situation but too apt to turn the strongest head, forgetful of himself and the indispensable rules of decency and prudence, it was not long before he surpassed his predecessor in insolence, ambition, and covetousness. Wholesome advice, even from a Chrysostom, served only to exasperate a heart devoted to the world, and open to flatterers, who added continually new flames to its passions. In the meantime the murmurs and indignation of the whole empire at the pride and avarice of Eutropius were a secret to him, till the pit was prepared for his fall. Gainas, general of the auxiliary Goths in the imperial army, was stirred up to revenge an affront which his cousin Trigildus, a tribune, had received from the haughty minister. At the same time the Empress Eudoxia, having been insulted by him, ran to the Emperor, carrying her two little babes in her arms, and cried out for justice against the insolent servant. Arcadius, who was as weak in abandoning, as he was imprudent in choosing favourites, gave orders that the minister should be driven out of the court, and his estates confiscated. Eutropius found himself in a moment forsaken by all the herds of his admirers and flatterers, without one single friend, and fled for protection to the Church, and to those very altars whose immunities he had infringed and violated. The whole city was in an uproar against him; the army called aloud for his death, and a troop of soldiers surrounded the church with naked swords in their hands, and fire in their eyes. St. Chrysostom went to the Emperor, and easily obtained of him that the unhappy criminal might be allowed to enjoy the benefit of sanctuary; and the soldiers were prevailed upon, by the tears of the Emperor and the remonstrances of the Bishop, to withdraw. The next day the people flocked to behold a man whose frown two days before made the whole world to tremble, now laying hold of the altar, gnashing his teeth, trembling and shuddering, having nothing before his eyes but drawn swords, dungeons, and executioners. St. Chrysostom on this occasion made a pathetic discourse on the vanity and treachery of human things, the empti-



ness and falsehood of which he could not find a word emphatical enough to express. The poor Eutropius could not relish such truths a few days ago, but now found his very riches destructive. The saint entreated the people to forgive him whom the Emperor, the chief person injured, was desirous to forgive: he asked them how they could beg of God the pardon of their own sin if they did not pardon a man who then, by repentance, was, perhaps, a saint in the eyes of God. At this discourse not a single person was able to refrain from tears, and all things seemed in a state of tranquillity. Some days after, Eutropius left the church, hoping to escape privately out of the city, but was seized and banished into Cyprus. He was recalled a few months after, and being impeached of high treason, was condemned and beheaded, chiefly at the instigation of Gainas, in compliance with whose unjust demands the weak Emperor consented to the death of Aurelianus and Saturninus, two principal lords of his court. But St. Chrysostom, by several journeys, prevailed with the barbarian to content himself with their banishment, which they underwent, but were soon after recalled. As unjust concessions usually make rebels the more insolent, Gainas hereupon obliged the Emperor to declare him commander-in-chief of all his troops. Yet even when his pride and power were at the highest, St. Chrysostom refused him the use of any Catholic church in Constantinople for the Arian worship. And when, some time after, he laid siege to that capital, the saint went out to him, and by kind expostulations prevailed on him to withhold his design and draw off his army. He was afterward defeated in passing the Hellespont, and fleeing through the country of the Huns, was overthrown, and slain by them in 400.

This same year, 400, St. Chrysostom held a council of bishops in Constantinople, one of whom had preferred a complaint against his metropolitan, Antoninus, the Archbishop of Ephesus, which consisted of several heads, but that chiefly insisted on was simony. All our saint's endeavours to discuss this affair being frustrated by the distance of places, he found it necessary, at the solicitation of the clergy and people of Ephesus, to go in person to that city, though the severity of the winter season, and the ill state of health he was then in, might be sufficient motives for retarding this journey. In this and the neighbouring cities several councils were held, in which the Archbishop of Ephesus and several other bishops in Asia, Lycia, and Phrygia, were deposed for simony. Upon his return after Easter, in 401, having been absent a hundred days, he preached the next morning, calling his people, in the transports of tender joy, his crown, his glory, his paradise planted

with flourishing trees ; but if any bad shrubs should be found in it, he promised that no pains should be spared to change them into good. He bid them consider if they rejoiced so much as they testified to see him again, who was only one, how great his joy must be, which was multiplied in every one of them ; he calls himself their bond-slave, chained to their service, but says, that slavery was his delight, and that during his absence he ever had them present to his mind, offering up his prayers for their temporal and spiritual welfare.

It remained that our saint should glorify God by his sufferings, as he had already done by his labours ; and if we contemplate the mystery of the Cross, with the eyes of faith, we shall find him greater in the persecutions he sustained than in all the other occurrences of his life. At the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the blindness of envy and pride in his enemies, as in the Pharisees against Christ Himself. We ought to tremble for ourselves : if that passion does not make us persecute a Chrysostom, it may often betray us into rash judgments, aversions, and other sins, even under a cloak of virtue. The first open adversary of our saint was Severianus, Bishop of Gabala, in Syria, to whom the saint had left the care of his church during his absence. This man had acquired the reputation of a preacher, was a favourite of the Empress Eudoxia, and had employed all his talents and dexterity to establish himself in the good opinion of the court and people, to the prejudice of the saint, against whom he had preached in his own city. Severianus being obliged to leave Constantinople at the saint's return, he made an excellent discourse to his flock on the peace Christ came to establish on earth, and begged they would receive again Severianus, whom they had expelled the city. Another enemy of the saint was Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, whom Sozomen, Socrates, Palladius, St. Isidore of Pelusium, and Synesius accuse of avarice and oppressions to gratify his vanity in building stately churches ; of pride, envy, revenge, dissimulation, and an uncontrollable love of power and rule, by which he treated other bishops as his slaves, and made his will the rule of justice. His three paschal letters, which have reached us, show that he wrote without method, and that his reflections and reasonings were neither just nor apposite, whence the loss of his other writings is not much to be regretted. These spiritual vices sullied his zeal against the Anthropomorphites, and his other virtues. He died in 412, wishing that he had lived always in a desert, honouring the name of the holy Chrysostom, whose picture he caused to be brought to his bedside, and by reverencing it, showed his desire to make atonement for his past

ill conduct towards our saint. This turbulent man had driven from their retreat four abbots of Nitria, called the tall brothers, on a groundless suspicion of Origenism, as appears from Palladius, though it was believed by St. Jerom, which is maintained by Baronius. St. Chrysostom admitted them to communion, but not till they had judicially cleared themselves of it in an ample manner. This, however, was grievously resented by Theophilus; but the Empress Eudoxia, who, after the disgrace of Eutropius, governed her husband and the empire, was the mainspring which moved the whole conspiracy against the saint. Zozimus, a heathen historian, says that her flagrant avarice, her extortions and injustices knew no bounds, and that the court was filled with informers, calumniators, and harpies, who, being always on the watch for prey, found means to seize the estates of such as died rich, and to disinherit their children or other heirs. No wonder that a saint should displease such a court whilst he discharged his duty to God. He had preached a sermon against the extravagance and vanity of women in dress and pomp. This was pretended by some to have been levelled at the Empress, and Severianus was not wanting to blow the coals. Knowing Theophilus was no friend to the saint, the Empress, to be revenged of the supposed affront, sent to desire his presence at Constantinople, in order to depose him. He obeyed the summons with pleasure, and landed at Constantinople, in June, 403, with several Egyptian bishops, his creatures, refused to see or lodge with John, and got together a packed cabal of thirty-six bishops, the saint's enemies, in a church at Chalcedon, calling themselves the synod at the Oak, from a great tree which gave name to that quarter of the town. The heads of the impeachment drawn up against the holy Bishop were that he had deposed a deacon for beating a servant; that he had called several of his clergy base men; had deposed bishops out of his province; had ordained priests in his domestic chapel instead of the cathedral; had sold things belonging to the Church; that nobody knew what became of his revenues; that he eat alone; and that he gave the Holy Communion to persons who were not fasting; all which were false or frivolous. The saint held a legal council of forty bishops in the city at the same time, and refused to appear before that at the Oak, alleging most notorious infractions of the canons in their pretended council. The cabal proceeded to a sentence of deposition, which they sent to the city and to the Emperor, to whom they also accused him of treason, for having called the Empress, Jezabel, a false assertion, as Palladius testifies. The Emperor hereupon issued out an order for his banishment, but the execution of it was opposed by

the people, who assembled about the great church to guard their pastor. He made them a farewell sermon, in which he spoke as follows: "Violent storms encompass me on all sides; yet I am without fear, because I stand upon a rock. Though the sea roar, and the waves rise high, they cannot sink the vessel of Jesus. I fear not death, which is my gain; nor banishment, for the whole earth is the Lord's; nor the loss of goods, for I came naked into the world, and must leave it in the same condition. I despise all the terrors of the world, and trample upon its smiles and favour. Nor do I desire to live unless for your service. Christ is with me; whom shall I fear? Though waves rise against me, though the sea, though the fury of princes threaten me, all these are to me more contemptible than a spider's web. I always say, O Lord, may Thy will be done; not what this or that creature wills, but what it shall please Thee to appoint, that shall I do and suffer with joy. This is my strong tower; this is my unshaken rock; this is my staff that can never fail. If God be pleased that it be done, let it be so. Wheresoever His will is that I be, I return Him thanks." He declared that he was ready to lay down a thousand lives for them, if at his disposal, and that he suffered only because he had neglected nothing to save their souls. On the third day after the unjust sentence given against him, having received repeated orders from the Emperor to go into banishment, and taking all possible care to prevent a sedition, he surrendered himself, unknown to the people, to the Count, who conducted him to Prænenum in Bithynia. After his departure, his enemies entered the city with guards, and Severianus mounted the pulpit and began to preach, pretending to show the deposition of the saint to have been legal and just. But the people would not suffer him to proceed, and ran about as if distracted, loudly demanding in a body the restoration of their holy pastor. The next night the city was shook with an earthquake. This brought the Empress to reflect with remorse on what she had done against the holy Bishop. She applied immediately to the Emperor under the greatest consternation for his being recalled; crying out, "Unless John be recalled, our empire is undone." And with his consent, she despatched letters the same night, inviting him home with tender expressions of affection and esteem, and protesting her ignorance of his banishment. Almost all the city went out to meet him, and great numbers of lighted torches were carried before him. He stopped in the suburbs, refusing to enter the city till he had been declared innocent by a more numerous assembly of bishops. But the people would suffer no delay; the enemies of the saint fled, and he resumed his functions, and preached to

his flock. He pressed the Emperor to call Theophilus to a legal synod, but that obstinate persecutor alleged that he could not return without danger of his life. However, Sozomen relates that threescore bishops ratified his return ; but the fair weather did not last long. A silver statue of the Empress having been erected on a pillar before the great church of St. Sophia, the dedication of it was celebrated with public games, which, besides disturbing the divine service, engaged the spectators in extravagancies and superstition. St. Chrysostom had often preached against licentious shows, and the very place rendered these the more criminal. On this occasion, fearing lest his silence should be construed as an approbation of the thing, he, with his usual freedom and courage, spoke loudly against it. Though this could only affect the Manichæan overseer of those games, the vanity of the Empress made her take the affront to herself, and her desires of revenge were implacable. His enemies were invited back. Theophilus durst not come, but sent three deputies. Though St. John had forty-two bishops with him, this second cabal urged to the Emperor certain canons of an Arian council of Antioch, made only to exclude St. Athanasius, by which it was ordained that no bishop who had been deposed by a synod should return to his see till he was restored by another synod. This false plea overruled the justice of the saint's cause, and Arcadius sent him an order to withdraw. He refused to forsake a church committed to him by God, unless forcibly compelled to leave it. The Emperor sent troops to drive the people out of the churches on Holy Saturday, and the holy places were polluted with blood and all manner of outrages. The saint wrote to Pope Innocent, begging him to declare void all that had been done, for no injustice could be more notorious. He also wrote to beg the concurrence of certain other holy bishops of the West. The Pope having received from Theophilus the acts of the false council at the Oak, even by them saw the glaring injustice of its proceedings, and wrote to him, exhorting him to appear in another council, where sentence should be given according to the canons of Nice, meaning by those words to condemn the Arian canons of Antioch. He also wrote to St. Chrysostom, to his flock, and several of his friends, and endeavoured to redress these evils by a new council, as did also the Emperor Honorius. But Arcadius and Eudoxia found means to prevent its assembling, the very dread of which made Theophilus, Severianus, and other ringleaders of the faction to tremble.

St. Chrysostom was suffered to remain at Constantinople two months after Easter. On Thursday in Whitsun-week the Emperor sent him an order for his banishment. The holy man, who re-

ceived it in the church, said to those about him, "Come, let us pray, and take leave of the angel of the church." He took leave of the bishops, and, stepping into the baptistery, also of St. Olympias and the other deaconesses, who were overwhelmed with grief and bathed in tears. He then retired privately out of the church, to prevent a sedition, and was conducted by Lucius, a brutish captain, into Bithynia, and arrived at Nice on the 20th of June, 404. After his departure, a fire breaking out, burnt down the great church and the senate-house, two buildings which were the glory of the city; but the baptistery was spared by the flames, as it were to justify the saint against his calumniators; for not one of the rich vessels was found wanting. In this senate-house perished the incomparable statues of the muses from Helicon, and other like ornaments, the most valuable then known, so that Zozimus looks upon this conflagration as the greatest misfortune that had ever befallen that city. Palladius ascribes the fire to the anger of Heaven. Many of the saint's friends were put to the most exquisite tortures on this account, but no discovery could be made. The Isaurians plundered Asia, and the Huns several other provinces. Eudoxia ended her life and crimes in childbed on the 6th of October following, five days after a furious hail-storm had made a dreadful havoc in the city. The Emperor wrote to St. Nilus to recommend himself and his empire to his prayers. The hermit answered him with a liberty of speech which became one who neither hoped nor feared anything from the world. "How do you hope," said he, "to see Constantinople delivered from the destroying anger of God, after such enormities authorised by laws? after having banished the most blessed John, the pillar of the Church, the lamp of truth, the trumpet of Jesus Christ!" And again, "You have banished John, the greatest light of the earth—at least, do not persevere in your crime." His brother, the Emperor Honorius, wrote still in stronger terms, and several others. But in vain; for certain implacable court ladies and sycophants, hardened against all admonitions and remorse, had much too powerful an ascendant over the unhappy Emperor for these efforts of the saint's friends to meet with success. Arsacius, his enemy and persecutor, though naturally a soft and weak man, was by the Emperor's authority intruded into his see. The saint enjoyed himself comfortably at Nice; but Cucusus was pitched upon by Eudoxia for the place of his banishment. He set out from Nice in July, 404, and suffered incredible hardships from heats, fatigues, severity of guards, almost perpetual watchings, and a fever which soon seized him with pains in his breast. He was forced to travel almost all night, deprived of every necessary of life, and was won-

derfully refreshed if he got a little clear water to drink, fresh bread to eat, or a bed to take a little rest upon. All he lamented was the impotence of his enemies for their own sake ; calling impunity in sin, and honour conferred by men on that account, the most dreadful of all judgments. About the end of August, after a seventy days' journey, he arrived at Cucusus, a poor town in Armenia, in the deserts of Mount Taurus. The good bishop of the place vied with his people in showing the man of God the greatest marks of veneration and civility, and many friends met him there, both from Constantinople and Antioch. In this place, by sending missionaries and succours, he promoted the conversion of many heathen countries, especially among the Goths, in Persia and Phœnicia. He appointed Constantius, his friend, a priest of Antioch, superior of the apostolic missions in Phœnicia and Arabia. The letters of Constantius are added to those of St. Chrysostom. The seventeen letters of our saint to St. Olympias might be styled treatises. He tells her, "I daily exult and am transported with joy in my heart under my sufferings, in which I find a hidden treasure ; and I beg that you rejoice on the same account, and that you bless and praise God, by whose mercy we obtain to such a degree the grace of suffering." He often enlarges on the great evils and most pernicious consequences of sadness and dejection of spirit, which he calls "the worst of human evils, a perpetual domestic rack, a darkness and tempest of the mind, an interior war, a distemper which consumes the vigour of the soul, and impairs all her faculties." He shows that sickness is the greatest of trials, a time not of inaction, but of the greatest merit, the school of all virtues, and a true martyrdom. He advises her to use physic, and says it would be a criminal impatience to wish for death to be freed from sufferings. He laments the fall of Pelagius, whose heresies he abhorred. He wrote to this lady his excellent treatise, "That no one can hurt him who does not hurt himself." Arsacius dying in 405, many ambitiously aspired to that dignity, whose very seeking it was sufficient to prove them unworthy. Atticus, one of this number, a violent enemy to St. Chrysostom, was preferred by the court, and placed in his chair. The Pope refused to hold communion with Theophilus, or any of the abettors of the persecution of our saint. He and the Emperor Honorius sent five bishops to Constantinople to insist on a council, and that in the meantime St. Chrysostom should be restored to his see, his deposition having been notoriously unjust. But the deputies were cast into prison in Thrace, because they refused to communicate with Atticus. The persecutors saw that, if a council was held, they would be inevitably condemned and deposed by it ;

therefore they stuck at nothing to prevent its meeting. The incursions of the Isaurian plunderers obliged St. Chrysostom to take shelter in the castle of Arabissus, on Mount Taurus. He enjoyed a tolerable state of health during the year 406 and the winter following, though it was extremely cold in those mountains, so that the Armenians were surprised to see how his thin, weak body was able to support it. When the Isaurians had quitted the neighbourhood he returned to Cucusus. But his impious enemies, seeing the whole Christian world both honour and defend him, resolved to rid the world of him. With this view they procured an order from the Emperor that he should be removed to Arabissus and thence to Pytius, a town situated on the Euxine sea, near Colchis, at the extremity of the empire, on the frontiers of the Sarmatians, the most barbarous of the Scythians. Two officers were ordered to convey him thither in a limited number of days, through very rough roads, with a promise of promotion if, by hard usage, he should die in their hands. One of these was not altogether destitute of humanity, but the other could not bear to hear a mild word spoken to him. They often travelled amidst scorching heats, from which his head, that was bald, suffered exceedingly. In the most violent rains they forced him out of doors, obliging him to travel till the water ran in streams down his back and bosom. When they arrived at Comana Pontica, in Cappadocia, he was very sick; yet was hurried five or six miles to the martyrion or chapel, in which lay the relics of the martyr St. Basiliscus. The saint was lodged in the oratory of the priest. In the night, that holy martyr appearing to him, said, "Be of good courage, brother John; to-morrow we shall be together." The confessor was filled with joy at this news, and begged that he might stay there till eleven o'clock. This made the guards drag him out the more violently; but when they had travelled four miles, perceiving him in a dying condition, they brought him back to the oratory. He there changed all his clothes to his very shoes, putting on his best attire, which was all white, as if he meant it for his heavenly nuptials. He was yet fasting, and having received the holy sacrament, poured forth his last prayer, which he closed with his usual doxology, "Glory be to God for all things." Having said Amen, and signed himself with the sign of the Cross, he sweetly gave up his soul to God on the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, the 14th of September, as appears from the Menæa, in 407, having been bishop nine years and almost seven months.

His remains were interred by the body of St. Basiliscus, a great concourse of holy virgins, monks, and persons of all ranks from a great distance flocking to his funeral. The Pope refused all com-



union with those who would not allow his name a place in the Liturgy or registers of Catholic bishops deceased. It was inserted at Constantinople by Ammonius in 417, and at Alexandria, by St. Cyril in 419; for Nestorius tells him that he then venerated the ashes of John against his will. His body was translated to Constantinople in 434 by St. Proclus, with the empress, the Emperor Theodosius and his sister Pulcheria accompanying St. Proclus in the procession and begging pardon for the sins of their parents, who had uncharitably persecuted this servant of God. The precious remains were laid in the church of the apostles, the burying-place of the emperors and bishops, on the 27th of January, 434, on which day he is honoured by the Latins; but the Greeks keep his festival on the 13th of November. His ashes were afterward carried to Rome, and rest under an altar which bears his name in the Vatican church. The saint was low in stature; and his thin, mortified countenance bespoke the severity of his life. The austeries of his youth, his cold solitary abode in the mountains, and the fatigues of continual preaching, had weakened his breast, which occasioned his frequent distempers. But the hardships of his exile were such as must have destroyed a person of the most robust constitution. Pope Celestine, St. Austin, St. Nilus, St. Isidore of Pelusium, and others, call him the illustrious doctor of churches, whose glory shines on every side, who fills the earth with the light of his profound sacred learning, and who instructs by his works the remotest corners of the world, preaching everywhere, even where his voice could not reach. They style him the wise interpreter of the secrets of God, the sun of the whole universe, the lamp of virtue, and the most shining star of the earth. The incomparable writings of this glorious saint make his standing and most authentic eulogium.

In the character which St. Chrysostom has in several places drawn of divine and fraternal charity and holy zeal, we have a true portraiture of his holy soul. He excellently shows, from the words of Our Lord to St. Peter, that the primary and essential disposition of a pastor of souls is a pure and most ardent love of God, whose love for these souls is so great, that He has delivered His Son to death for them. Jesus Christ shed His blood to save this flock, which He commits to the care of St. Peter. Nothing can be stronger or more tender than the manner in which this saint frequently expresses his charity and solicitude for his spiritual children. When he touches this topic his words are all fire and flame, and seem to breathe the fervour of St. Peter, the zeal of St. Paul, and the charity of Moses. This favourite of God was not afraid, for the salvation of his people, to desire to be separated from the

company of the saints, provided this could have been done without falling from the love of God, though he knew that nothing would more closely unite him for ever to God than this extraordinary effort of his love. The apostle of nations desired to be an anathema for his brethren, and for their salvation; and the prince of the apostles gave the strongest proof of the ardour of his love for Christ by the floods of tears which he shed for his flock. From the same furnace of divine love St. Chrysostom drew the like sentiments towards his flock, joined with a sovereign contempt of all earthly things, another distinguishing property of charity, which he describes in the following words: "Those who burn with a spiritual love consider as nothing all that is shining or precious on earth. We are not to be surprised if we understand not this language, who have no experience of this sublime virtue. For whoever should be inflamed with the fire of the perfect love of Jesus Christ would be in such dispositions with regard to the earth that he would be indifferent both to its honours and to its disgrace, and would be no more concerned about its trifles than if he was alone in the world. He would despise sufferings, scourges, and dungeons, as if they were endured in another's body, not in his own; and would be as insensible to the pleasures and enjoyments of the world, as we are to the bodies of the dead, or as the dead are to their own bodies. He would be as pure from the stain of any inordinate passions as gold perfectly refined is from all rust or spot. And as flies beware of falling into the flames, and keep at a distance, so irregular passions dare not approach him."

## SAINT PHILIP NERI, C.

A.D. 1595.

PERFECT charity, which distinguishes all the saints, rendered this great servant of God a bright star in the Church in these later ages. He was born at Florence in 1515, and was son of Francis Neri, a lawyer, and Lucretia Soldi, both descended of wealthy Tuscan families. From five years of age he was never known in the least tittle wilfully to transgress the will of his parents. Once, indeed, a sister disturbing him on purpose whilst he was reciting the psalter with another sister, he gently pushed her away, for which action his father chid him, and this he bewailed with many tears as a great fault. He was very patient in sickness, and so mild that he seemed not to know what anger was. When he was only eleven years old he visited the churches very much, and prayed and heard the Word of God with singular devotion. Such was his piety, his reverence, and respect to superiors, and his humility, sweetness, and affability to all, that he was exceedingly beloved, and was commonly called good Philip. Having finished his grammar studies when he was eighteen years of age, he was sent by his father to an uncle (who lived near Mount Cassino, and was very rich by traffic), not to learn his business, but to be his heir. But Philip, feeling ardent desires perfectly to follow Jesus Christ, and fearing the dangers of dissipation and of entangling his soul in the world, soon left his uncle, and went to Rome in 1533. There being taken into the house of Galleotto Caccia, a Florentine nobleman, in quality of preceptor to his children, he led so edifying a life, that the reputation of his sanctity was spread very wide, and reached Florence. Ordinarily he ate only once a day, and he could hardly be brought to add to bread and water a few olives and a small quantity of herbs. He spent much time retired in a little chamber, passing sometimes whole nights in prayer, in which exercise he was favoured with abundant spiritual delights. His pupils made an admirable progress under his care, both in virtue and learning; and in the meantime he studied philosophy and divinity in such a manner as to distinguish him-

self in the schools. Everybody sought his acquaintance, but in this particular he was very cautious and reserved, for fear of falling into bad company, or at least of losing any part of his precious time. It is the observation of a modern philosopher, that one quarter of an hour a day given to superfluous or unprofitable conversation amounts to a very considerable part of the longest life, in which the necessities of age and nature make always large abatements, and reduce action to a short span, in which we are to lay in provisions for eternity. This reflection made the saint extremely solicitous to husband well all his moments. Philip gave to his neighbour only that time which duty, mutual edification, and charity required.

He was moreover sensible that even saints complain that they return from company less fit for prayer, and seldom without some wounds in their soul; and that the idle conversation of the world always blows upon our hearts that contagious air of vanity, pride, and love of pleasure which it breathes; and which is always so much the more dangerous, as its poison is the more secret. Notwithstanding his precautions, the devil found means to play upon him his wicked agents. Certain lewd young men made an assault upon his chastity by impudent discourse; but he spoke to them with so much piety and strength that he softened their hardened hearts into compunction, and converted them to God. Against temptations he armed himself by prayer, fasting, and humility; yet he sometimes felt assaults or buffets of the flesh till fifty years of age; but for the thirty last years of his life was as free from all rebellion of that domestic enemy as if he had been without a body, as he declared to Cardinal Baronius; pouring forth at the same time a torrent of tears for his sloth and ingratitude in making no return to God, as he said, for the grace by which He had always preserved his virginity spotless in mind and body. He practised an unusual mortification of his senses often even in the smallest things; saying, that frequent self-denial in little things is necessary for us, that we may conquer in greater conflicts. To such a degree did he carry his love of holy poverty, that when he came first to Rome he would accept of nothing from his fond father but two or three shirts; and he kept nothing in his little room but a poor bed, a few books, and a little linen which hung upon a cord against the wall. To all kinds of pastime he was an utter stranger, contriving to find necessary relaxation and exercise in works of charity and devotion, as in going from one church to another, and visiting hospitals. Even during the course of his studies he gave a great deal of his time to prayer, and every day visited all, or at least some of the seven churches appointed to be visited by pilgrims,

which are several miles asunder, and some of them without the city. He often spent the whole night in prayer before the door of some private church, and especially over the relics of the martyrs in the cemetery of Calixtus; often, when overpowered by sleep, he took a little rest on the ground in a porch of one of the seven churches. Whilst he was yet a young student in philosophy, he never called to mind the sufferings of Christ, or reflected on the sins and ingratitude of men, or cast his eyes upon a crucifix without melting into tears. After he completed the course of his theology, he took some time for the study of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Fathers, the two sources and eyes of that science. The canons and laws of the Church, containing the precepts and admonitions of her pastors and councils, are a necessary and excellent rule for the direction of manners among Christians; and a skill in some parts of the canon law is very requisite in a pastor of souls. St. Philip therefore made the study of the canon law a part of his care; and became in a short time an oracle in all sacred studies, to whom many learned professors resorted for advice in their difficulties. The saint always recommended and promoted exceedingly these studies among his disciples; and to encourage them, he afterward commanded his pious and learned scholar Cæsar Baronius, who had entered the oratory of St. Philip at eighteen years of age, to compile his annals of the Church, in the beginning of which work he was to him a great assistance, and a daily spur, as Baronius acknowledges, who calls him the first author and original contriver of his annals.

St. Philip was one of the best scholars of the age; but being desirous to approach nearer and nearer to Jesus Christ, whose sweet attractions he continually felt in his soul, at twenty-three years of age he sold even his books for the relief of the poor. Often in prayer he was so overwhelmed with spiritual joy and sweetness as not to be able to stand. Sometimes he was heard, as he lay prostrate on the ground, to cry out—"Enough, O Lord, enough; withhold a little at present, I beseech you, the torrent of your sweetness." And another time—"Depart from me, O Lord; depart from me. I am yet a mortal man, and am not able to bear such an abundance of celestial joy. Behold, I die, my dear Lord, unless you succour me." He used often to say, "O God, seeing you are so infinitely amiable, why have you given us but one heart to love you, and this so little and so narrow?" It is believed that if God had not, on such occasions, abated or withdrawn his consolations, he must have died through excess of joy, as he himself averred. Humility made him most industrious to conceal his knowledge or science, and much more the extraordinary gifts of

grace ; for he in all things sought his own contempt. Had not his heart been perfectly empty of itself, the divine love could never have found room in it to overflow in such abundance. So impetuous and so sensible was this love in his breast that it frequently discovered itself in a wonderful manner in his countenance and in the violent palpitation of his heart. For as St. Francis of Sales shows in his book of the Love of God, and as experience convinces, violent affections of the mind produce strange effects upon the body. Galloni testifies that the divine love so much dilated the breast of our saint in an extraordinary rapture, that the gristle which joined the fourth and fifth ribs on the left side was broken, which accident allowed the heart and the larger vessels more play, in which condition he lived fifty years. In the midst of a great city, he led for some years almost the life of a hermit. For a long time he ate only bread with a few olives, herbs, or an apple, drank only water, and lay on the bare floor. His earnest desire of loving God more perfectly, by being united to Him in glory, made him languish continually after that blessed hour when his soul should be freed from the prison of his body, and taking her flight to its origin and centre, should drown herself in the ocean of all good. He was wont to say, that to one that truly loveth God nothing can happen more grievous than delays of His enjoyment, and than life itself. But then the will of God and the love of penance and suffering made this delay itself a subject of comfort, in which he also rejoiced with St. Paul, inasmuch as by living on earth he was able still to labour in bringing souls to God.

His insatiable zeal for the salvation of others drew him often to the exchange and other public places in the city, to seek opportunities of gaining some soul to God, or at least of preventing some sin, in which he did wonders, and whilst yet a layman quite changed the face of several public places. He often visited the hospitals, there to comfort, exhort, and serve the sick. He lamented to see the custom of waiting on poor sick persons disused in the world, a practice extremely conducive to inspire sentiments of humility and charity. He therefore desired very much to revive it, and with that view commenced the confraternity of the Blessed Trinity in Rome, with the assistance of his confessarius, who was a very holy priest named Persiano Rosa. He laid the first foundation of this pious establishment with fourteen companions, in 1548, in the church of our Saviour Del-Campo. He settled the most admirable economy and good order for receiving, serving, and instructing the sick and pilgrims. In this place St. Philip made pious discourses, and held conferences several times

every day, and often till late at night, by which he reclaimed great numbers from vice, and conducted many to an eminent perfection. In the year of the jubilee 1550, he translated this confraternity to the church of the Holy Trinity, and erected a new hospital under the name of the Blessed Trinity, which to this day subsists in the most flourishing condition, and is one of the best-regulated hospitals in the world. Several cardinals and princes come thither out of devotion in the evenings, to wash the feet, and to serve with their own hands the pilgrims, and especially the sick. Sometimes six hundred waiters on an evening are assembled together to this act of humility. The ladies wait on the female patients in another hospital. St. Philip, not content with the care of hospitals, laid himself out in relieving the distressed in all parts of the city. It happened that as he was carrying an alms in a stormy night for secrecy, he fell into a deep ditch ; but was preserved by God from receiving any hurt.

Humility made the saint sometimes think of devoting himself to the service of God in a laical state. But being desirous to employ his labours in the best manner he could in the care of souls, he deliberated with himself what state to choose for this end. On this occasion he was not only persuaded, but most urgently pressed and compelled by his confessor Rosa, to enter into holy orders. After a long preparation, he was ordained priest in June, 1551, being thirty-six years old almost complete. From which time he chose his dwelling in a small community, at the church of St. Jerom, where Rosa and certain other very virtuous priests lived. Everyone ate by himself, and fasted according to his strength and devotion. Here Philip mitigated the austerities of his former life, and allowed himself a slender breakfast in the morning ; and for his supper a couple of eggs, or a mess of broth, or a few herbs or beans ; he seldom ate any flesh, and rarely fish. But when he ate abroad, which was very seldom, he took what was set before him to avoid singularity ; but never touched more than one thing, and seemed to eat without any relish for his food. He lived in a little unfurnished room, attending only to his devotions and to the winning of souls to God. In saying his first Mass he was so overpowered with spiritual consolations, that on account of the shaking of his hands and whole body he was scarcely able to pour the wine and water into the chalice ; and this continued during the rest of the sacrifice, especially at the elevation and communion, and he was often obliged to lean on the altar, being otherwise in danger of falling down. He said Mass every day, unless hindered by some grievous sickness, and then he always received the Holy Communion. He often fell into raptures at the altar, particularly after communi-

cating, also after Mass. On this account he was sometimes two hours in saying Mass, for which reason, towards the end of his life, he performed that function privately in a domestic chapel. The delight he found in receiving the holy sacrament is inexpressible. The very remembrance of that divine banquet, when he took an empty chalice into his hand, made him melt into tender sentiments of love. Galloni mentions several extraordinary raptures with which the saint was favoured in prayer, and testifies that his body was sometimes seen raised from the ground during his devotions some yards high, at which time his countenance appeared shining with a bright light.

St. Philip was not less eminent in zeal for the divine honour and in charity for men than in the gifts of contemplation. Soon after he had received the priesthood he was ordered by his superiors and confessarius to hear confessions, for which function he was by a long preparation excellently qualified. And so great was his desire of gaining souls to God that he was never weary of this employment ; though beginning early in the morning, he often spent in it almost the whole day. Even after Mass, when called to this duty, he contented himself with a short thanksgiving, and went immediately to attend this office of charity, preferring the comfort of others to his own most favourite time of devotion. Nor is it credible how many souls he drew out of the mire of sin, and moved to embrace a life of singular perfection. Charity taught him innumerable devices to win the most hardened. The sight of a Jew, who happened one day to speak to him, pierced him with so deep a sentiment of compassion for his soul that for three whole weeks he never ceased weeping and praying for him till he saw him baptized. By displaying the terrors of death and the divine judgments he softened the most obdurate sinners if they once listened to him. Those who shunned him for fear of the remedy of their spiritual diseases he often gained by addressing himself to God in their behalf in fervent prayers. One he converted by desiring him to say seven times every day the *Salve Regina*, kissing the ground in the end, and adding these words, *To-morrow I may be among the dead*. Those that were engaged in criminal habits he cured by enjoining them every evening, with some prayer, a short reflection on death, or a short representation to themselves of a soul in hell, and an imaginary entertainment or dialogue with her on her state, on eternity, the emptiness and extravagance of sin, and the like ; or such a representation of a person dying, or a carcase laid in the grave. He had an excellent talent for exciting penitents to compunction, and in inspiring them with a sovereign abhorrence of all sin ; also with assisting them to discover the



occasions and sources of sin, and to cut them off. In this consists very much the fruit of repentance ; the occasions and approaches of the evil must be retrenched ; the cancer must be entirely extirpated with every string of its root ; the least fibre left behind will push forth again, and with more vigour than before. Here the penitent must not spare himself, whatever it costs him, though he part with an eye or a foot. It is by the neglect of this precaution that so many conversions are false and counterfeit, and that relapses are so frequent. Our skilful director was careful to lay the axe to the root ; and not content to draw souls out of Sodom, he obliged them to quit the neighbourhood, and fly to the mountains, to the greatest distance from the danger. With this precaution, the other remedies which he applied all produced their desired effect. The saint, by the lights which the purity of his affections and his spirit of prayer were the means of obtaining, and by his learning and singular experience in the paths of virtue, conducted fervent souls in the maxims of heroic perfection. He sometimes miraculously penetrated the secrets of the hearts of others ; and in particular knew hidden sins of impurity by the stench which such sinners exhaled, as several testified after his death. To one he said that "he perceived such a horrid stench to come from the person infected with this filthy vice that he never found anything so noisome." To some who had criminally concealed such sins in confession, he said, "To me you cast forth an ill savour ; you are fallen into such a sin of impurity ; cast out the poison by confession." His thirst for the salvation of souls made him earnestly desire to go to the Indies ; but he was dissuaded by those whom he consulted, who told him that Rome was his Indies ; a large field for all his zeal and labour, which would furnish him with an ample harvest.

The saint received all that resorted to him in his chamber, and was wont to instruct them by daily conferences, with incredible unction and fruit. Evil eyes could not bear so great a light ; and certain envious and malicious persons derided his devotion at Mass, and his other actions, and by the most contumelious discourse, and outrageous slanders, insulted his person, and blackened his reputation ; all which he bore with meekness and silence, never once opening his mouth in his own defence, or complaining of anyone, but rejoicing to see himself meet with scorn and contempt. Often when he was reviled he exulted with joy. One of these slanderers was so moved by seeing the cheerfulness of the saint's countenance, and his invincible patience, whilst another cursed and reproached him in the most bitter terms, that he was converted upon the spot, undertook the defence of the servant of God,

and entered upon a penitential and edifying course of life. The author of all these injuries and affronts, moved also at the saint's patience and mildness, of his own accord came to him, and upon his knees begged his pardon, which St. Philip willingly granted him, and most kindly embracing him, received him into the number of his children. The man of God said that if we ask of God patience and humility, we ought to rejoice and thank Him when He sendeth us occasions of exercising those virtues, which are not to be obtained but by crosses and frequent acts of them. Another time, when he had opened his oratory, certain persons accused him of pride and ambition, and that he loved and affected to be followed by the people. Upon which complaints the vicar of Rome gave him a sharp reprimand, forbade him to hear confessions for fifteen days, and to preach without a new license; he moreover threatened him with imprisonment if he did not leave his new ways of proceeding. The saint modestly answered that he was most ready to obey his superiors in whatever they should command him. He excused the authors of his troubles in the best manner he was able, and with cheerfulness said to his friends, that God had permitted him to be so treated that he might become humble. By his patience and modesty this storm blew over, and after an inquiry into his conduct, leave was given him to live after his wonted manner, and to draw sinners to God by such means as his prudence should suggest. After which his chamber began to be frequented by many of the prime nobility, to the singular profit of their souls. His charity for all seemed to have no bounds; but when he did but look on notorious wicked men he could hardly contain the abundance of tears which compassion moved him to shed.

Desiring by all means in his power to help his neighbour, he by his conferences laid the foundation of the Congregation of Oratorians in 1551. Several priests and young ecclesiastics associating themselves with him, began to assist him in his conferences, and in reading prayers and meditations to the people in the Church of the Holy Trinity. They were called Oratorians, because at certain hours every morning and afternoon, by ringing a bell, they called the people to the church to prayers and meditations. In 1564, when the saint had formed his congregation into a regular community, he preferred several of his young ecclesiastics to holy orders, one of whom was the famous Cæsar Baronius, whom, for his eminent sanctity, Benedict XIV., by a decree dated on the 12th of January, 1745, honoured with the title of Venerable Servant of God. At the same time he formed his disciples into a community, using one common purse and table, and he gave them

rules and statutes. He forbade any of them to bind themselves to this state by vow or oath, that all might live together joined only by the banns of fervour and holy charity; labouring with all their strength to establish the kingdom of Christ in themselves by the most perfect sanctification of their own souls, and to propagate the same in the souls of others, by preaching, instructing the ignorant, and teaching the Christian doctrine. The general he appointed to be triennial, but was himself, much against his will, chosen general for life, though he afterward found means to obtain a release from that burden, by alleging his age and infirmities. This happened in 1595, when Baronius was chosen his successor, though that great man left nothing unattempted to remove the burden from his shoulders.

St. Philip, who dated the foundation of his oratory in 1564, obtained of Pope Gregory XIII. the approbation of his congregation in 1575. Its constitutions were afterward confirmed by Paul V. in 1612. The same Gregory XIII. bestowed on the saint the church of our Lady of Vallicella, which was new built in a finished state by exquisite architects, whence it is called the New Church. St. Philip took possession of it in 1583; but his congregation still continues to serve also the hospital of pilgrims of the Holy Trinity. The saint lived to see many houses of his Oratory erected at Florence, Naples, San Severino, Anxur, Lucca, Firmo, Panormo, Fano, Padua, Vicenza, Ferrara, Thonon, etc. He established among his followers the rule of obedience, and a total abnegation of their own will, saying, "This is the shortest and most assured way to attain to perfection." He was so great a lover of poverty that he earnestly desired always to live destitute of worldly goods, and in a suffering state of indigence. He strictly ordained that none of his congregation should have to do with the purse of their penitents, saying, "It is impossible to gain both their souls and their goods." This holy man lived equally revered and beloved by the popes Pius IV. and V., Gregory XIII. and XIV., and Clement VIII., and by other great men, particularly by St. Charles Borromeo. Among other miracles, when he himself lay sick of a fever, and his life seemed despaired of, he was suddenly restored to health by a vision of the Blessed Virgin, in which he fell into a wonderful rapture, and cried out: "O most holy Mother of God, what have I done that you should vouchsafe to come to me?" Coming to himself, he said unawares to four physicians that were present, "Did not you see the Blessed Mother of God, who by her visit hath driven away my distemper?" But immediately perceiving that he had discovered his vision, he besought them not to disclose it to any one. This was attested

upon oath by Galloni and four physicians that were present. Under the sharpest pains in his sickness, no complaint, groan, or stir, ever was observed in him; only he was sometimes heard softly to repeat these words, *Adauge dolorem, sed adauge patientiam*: Increase my pains, but increase withal my patience. On several occasions he exactly foretold things to come. Baronius and others testified that they had heard several predictions from his mouth which the events always confirmed.

St. Philip was of a sickly constitution, and was usually visited every year by one or two sharp fevers, which sometimes held him a long time; yet he lived to a good old age. In 1595 he lay all the month of April sick of a very violent fever; and in the beginning of May was taken with a vomiting of blood, discharging a very large quantity. Cæsar Baronius gave him extreme unction; and when the hæmorrhage had ceased Cardinal Frederic Borromeo brought him the viaticum. When the saint saw the Cardinal entering his chamber with the holy sacrament, to the amazement of all that were present, he cried out with a loud voice and abundance of tears, "Behold my Love, my Love! He comes, the only delight of my soul. Give me my Love quickly." He repeated with the Cardinal in the most tender sentiments of devotion and love those words, *Domine non sum dignus*, adding, "I was never worthy to be fed with Thy body; nor have I ever done any good at all." After receiving the viaticum he said, "I have received my physician into my lodging." He had procured many Masses to be said for him, and in two or three days seemed perfectly recovered, said Mass every day, heard confessions as usual, and enjoyed a good state of health. He foretold to several persons, and frequently, his approaching death, and the very day of it, as they declared upon oath. On the three last days of his life, he was overwhelmed with more than ordinary spiritual love, especially on the day that he died, on which he counted every hour, waiting for the end of the day, which he foresaw to be the moment in which his soul would engulf itself into the ocean of immortal bliss. Being taken with another fit of vomiting blood, Baronius reading the recommendation of the soul, he with great tranquillity expired just after midnight, between the 25th and 26th of May, 1595, being near fourscore and two years old.

St. Philip, inflamed with the love of God and a desire of praising Him worthily, after offering Him all the affections of his soul, and the homages of all His creatures, seeing in their poverty and inability nothing equal to His infinite greatness, comforted himself in finding in the Mass a means of glorifying Him by a victim worthy of Himself. This he offered to Him with inexpressible

joy, devotion, and humility, to praise and honour His holy name, to be a sacrifice of perfect thanksgiving for His infinite benefits, of expiation for sin, and of impetration to obtain all graces. Hence in this sacrifice he satiated the ardent desires of his zeal, and found an excess of overflowing love and sweetness in the closest union of his soul with his divine Redeemer.

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